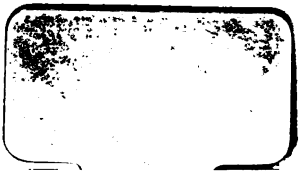

A N
OCCASIONAL LETTER
FROM
The FARMER,
TO THE
FREE-MEN of *Dublin*.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

AN

Occasional Letter, &c.

My Countrymen,

THE Simplicity of human Virtue is sufficient Honour and sufficient Ornament. When she puts on Wealth, or Titles, or Dignities, she can deceive our Eyes, and may conceal many Blemishes beneath the Shine of her Dress; but when she is stript of every outward Accession, it is then, and then only, that we behold her as she is, that we can equally distinguish her Charms or Defects, and may with Judgment seek a Fairer among her Kindred, or take even this One to our Bosom for ever.

There is a Citizen, my Friends, among you, toward whom Fortune hath been as frugal, as Nature is lavish. He hath received no Distinction from his Birth, no Grace from his Profession: He is ennobled by no Patents, he is respected for no Possessions. And yet, without Wealth, without Titles, without Dignities, even without the Additions of Art or Education, he hath worthily set his Foot among the foremost in this Kingdom.

Prophecy and Patriotism are Endowments of a peculiar Nature. They are wholly internal; they will admit of nothing from Accident or Acquisition; they are Sparks, which Heaven alone can kindle; that divine Rapture, that Force of Soul, which, like the Inspiration of the *Cumæan Sybil*, dilates the Form, impells to Utterance, and pours out the Orator in a Torrent upon his Hearers.

To what, if not to such a Spirit as this, can we ascribe the *Powers* of your Fellow Citizen? a Man despised for his Trade, his Poverty, his Pretensions! a Fool, (we have said,) a Madman! what is it that he proposes, what would he be at? can he Dream that a *little Apothecary* should be able to *purge* our *Legislature* of its *Crudities?* that in all his *Pharmacopolium*, he can find a *Restorative* for the Nation? or that his *Chymistry* can *sublime* a whole People to his Notions of LIBERTY and VIRTUE?—Thus have we rallied; and yet this very Man, against infinite Opposition, and only assisted by a single Person, his *Compatriot* and *Brother-Candidate*, through a Succession of several Years, with a Spirit unequalled, and an Application unwearied, hath informed your *Counsels*, asserted your *Interests*, revealed your *Privileges*, published your *Charters*, reclaimed your *Rights*, opposed your *Oppressors*, exposed your *Usurpers*, and in Spite of *Party*, *Power*, *Authority*, and *Influence*, is now on the very Eve of bringing all that he *projected* to pass.

It is but lately, very lately, my Brethren, that the Word, PATRIOT, hath had a Signification in *Ireland*; a Kingdom, whose Natives, of any Wealth or Consideration, were either worse than *Aliens* to their Country, by becoming *Absentees*, or yet *worse* than Absentees, by their *Places* and *Dependencies* under *foreign Influence*. A Kingdom, whose Offices of *Trust* were turned into Matters of *Traffic*, whose *Funds* for public Utility, into *private Barter* and *Jobb*; while with *Parties* in our *Parliaments*, *Factions* in our *Counties*, *Practice* on our *Juries*, *&c. &c. &c.* we were only so far uncorrupted, so far saved from *Venality*, as we were not judged of sufficient *Weight* to merit the *Temptation*.

CAN any Good, I then said, *come out of Galilee?*—I now can answer. Yes—let me speak it to the Glory of our common Citizens, let me speak it to my own Exultation! that it is here, and here alone; where the Life of ESSENTIAL LIBERTY seems at length to

revive

revive; where VIRTUE seems to prepare her SEAT and her HABITATION: That while the *American*, *African*, and *Asian* Worlds, groan under universal *Bondage*; while most of *Europe* hath bowed to the *Yoke*; while those few Nations, who boast *remaining Freedom*, are enslaved by their Appetites, and prepared for outward Chains by inward Depravity; while even in *Britain*, the Terms LIBERTY and PATRIOTISM are secretly ridiculed as *chimerical*, as Topics of Speculation rather than Reality; it is to *Ireland* alone, as to the *Heart*, where the *Animal Spirits*, the *Vital Heat* of *Political Nature* appear to make their Retreat; from hence I trust to re-expand, to inform their accustomed Channels, and carry Life and Health anew throughout the whole System.

Neither is this a sudden Rapture, a turbulent Fit; it is not one of the *Gracchi* who hath enflamed you; it is not a *Massianello* who hath kindled a short Sedition and Mutiny among you: *Faction* will have its *Fever*, and *Enthusiasm* its *Fermentation*; but *that* will abate, and *this* will evaporate. Your's is at once a *loyal* and a *lambent Flame*; it hath had its gentle, its gradual Ascent, and is not yet arrived to its due Heat or Meridian; it is like a Building, which in order to Use, Strength, and Endureance, requires a sober Progression, and mounts from Story to Story, till the Whole is accomplished.

Do ye not find, my Countrymen, that this Spirit is prevalent among you? do ye not feel, growing within yourselves, a Sense of Honour, of Liberty, of Virtue? a Love of Poverty, while annexed to Integrity? a Contempt of Affluence, if purchased by Corruption? I know that you find and feel it. It is not a Spirit that is pregnant with Riots, nor productive of Revolutions; it is the *Restoration* of what is *lapsed*, the *Renewal* of what is *languid*, the *Preservation* of whatever is *valuable* in our happy Constitution. Cease not to cherish and indulge it. It is yet encreasing; it is growing general among you. History cannot pro-

du

duce any Instance of National Virtue, so *deep*, yet *gentle*, so *full* without *over-flowing*. You are becoming a Body of PATRIOTS. The Eyes of your neighbouring Nations are upon you, and they only wait for the Maturity of your Example, to follow and be conducted by so glorious a Track.

ARE these Things so? —— Then lay your Hands to your Hearts, and acknowledge from whence the Stream hath flowed. Consider what *Prometheus* it is, who hath stolen this Heat from Heaven, to animate your listless and unactive State.

You are now upon the Eve of the most critical Event, of the most important and interesting Period of Time, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution. Two Seats are vacant to your City in Parliament; and it is not now the Question whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether this Man or that Man shall be chosen. My Friends! the Tryal is between *Power* and *Patriotism*. The Combat is to be fought between our *Potentates* and our *People*, between *Interest* and *Integrity*, between *Influence* and *Virtue*. If you should elect upon the former of these Motives, if you should chuse a single Member from Incitements of Lucre or Solicitation; adieu to all future Prospects! adieu to Liberty! adieu to my Country!

But if, as I rather Trust, you shall fight a good Fight, and finish the Course you have so gloriously undertaken; if you will give the great and expected Testimony of your own Merits, in your Election of those two Candidates, who have nothing but their Merits to recommend them; whose Studies have been incessant, whose Labours have been indefatigable, whose Years have been spent, and whose Persons have been exposed in your Service; (and you will Elect them): Though these Men should hereafter betray You, though it were possible they should prove recreant to the mighty Trust reposed in them; you will yet have gained infinite Advantages. You will inspire our whole Country with an Emulation of your

Spirit.

Spirit. You will dictate the most glorious Lesson of Duty, that ever was given to our Representatives in Parliament. You will convey, together with the best Security of Priveleges, the brightest Example, that can descend, as an Inheritance, to your Posterity. You will amaze, you will confound your *British* Neighbours, who must blush at their own Corruption and Venality. And you will lastly impress an Honour, in History, upon the *distinguished Period* in which you lived.

When I look back to the mighty Spirits of Antiquity, to those great and Patriot Characters, whom Providence poured in Blessings upon the Countries and States to whom their Mission was appointed; I grieve to reflect on the Ingratitude of human Nature, and that I can find in the History of those ancient Benefactors, scarce any other Recompence, scarce any other Return, than *Destruction* for *Deliverance*, and *Suffering* for *Service*.

When I consider even those awful Heroes and Preservers of Mankind, whose *Counsel* gave Existence, whose *Courage* gave Conquest, and whose *Fame* alone gives Distinction to the greatest Common Wealths that ever were: I behold the *Miltiades*, the *Themistocles*, the *Aristides*, the *Socrates*, the *Phocion* of *Athens*; the *Hannibal* of *Carthage*; and the *Manlius*, the *Coriolanus*, the *Camillus*, the *Scipio* of *Rome*, as so many *Martyrs to their own Beneficence*. And I am prompted to think, that the great *Cincinnatus* had scarce *escaped* the *Salvation* of his Country, if he had not returned to his *Spade* and to his *Plow*.

What is it in human Nature that thus tempts us to envy the Power from whence we derive Advantage? to detest the Fountain from whence Good flows unto us? May Honour and Gratitude, and every noble Sentiment that can inform a Brave, a Free, and a generous People, for ever Defend you, my Countrymen, from the *Equity* of such a *Reproach!*

I hope

I hope it is not to be apprehended. The Virtue by which you are so lately, and indeed, so eminently distinguished, in your Preference of a Man, whose Virtue is his sole Estimation; your Contempt of the Influence of Power, and Solicitation of Interest, in Comparison of this your Fellow Citizen's Attachment to your Cause, and Zeal for your Service, is at once an Assurance of your own Merits, and the highest Encouragement to the *Servants* of your *Country*.

I will therefore believe, that you have a worthy Resentment of the late Indignity and Insult, which hath been cast on Mr. *Lucas* by the *Common Council* of the City of *Dublin*; and that thus to suffer for your Sake, can only serve the more deeply to engage your Affections.

THOUGH, the *Court* of *Judicature*, into which the *Sheriffs* and *Commons* of this City have lately erected themselves, in order to vindicate their Officer, is perhaps one of the most entertaining *Phænomena*, that hath hitherto appeared in our Hemisphere; it is not wholly unprecedented. Former Times have also been blessed with *Courts* of equal *Discernment*, and *Judges* of equal *Candor*.

By the ancient Administration of Equity in these Realms, if any Man stood impeached, the Bench appointed three Methods of Disculpation, by *Ordeal*, by *Combat*, and by *Wager of Law*. By the *First*, he was left to the miraculous Interposition of Providence. By the *Second*, the Strength of his Arm was admitted a full Evidence of the Integrity of his Heart. And by the *Third*, a *Criminal* was barely required to *swear* himself *Innocent*, to add *Perjury* to his *former Guilt*, and thereupon he was *judicially Acquitted*. But this last Method was generally reserved for an *Amicus Curiæ*, some *Servant of the Bench*, some *Minion of Favour*.

As there is no Absurdity which hath not, at some Time been approved; so there is nothing so obsolete that may not again be revived.

The

The *Sheriffs* and *Commons*, conceiving that the Honour of their public *Officer* was attacked in a Paragraph of Mr. *Lucas*'s Second Letter to the Commons, were solicitous to salve Appearances in his Favour, without bringing his Cause too closely to the Light: But as this was not to be done by any *judicial Method* now in Practise, they erected a *Court of novel Inquisition*, and examined what Precedents of old might Suit a present Purpose.

With respect to the ancient *Ordeal*, they imagined it might prove too *fiery a Tryal*, and did not choose to trust Providence over far, for evinceing the Innocence of this their *Officer*. The Method by *Combat* was yet more perilous, he must here be obliged to confront his Accuser; and what would become of such an Animal in the Hands of a Champion for Liberty. They therefore discreetly determined on the third Manner of Decision; here he was to have no *Fire* but of his *own kindling*, no *Combat* but with his *own Conscience*: this indeed could not but be a *sure Card*, where the Gamester had the handling of the *whole Pack* to himself; thus the Matter was left to his *own Appointment*, he was to judge his *own* Merits; single and at leisure to run his *own* Race; for they very prudently concluded, that he must be a much honester Man, than they took him to be, if he would willfully Vote himself out of his Employment; if, for the Sake of *Honour*, he would acknowledge his own *Disgrace*; if, for the Love of *Truth*, he would Swear to his own *Condemnation*.

The Defenders of this Man's Innocence, having thus *predetermined* the Business, had nothing further to apprehend, than what might arise from the Flushings and Hesitations of Guilt, in Case of some sudden or ill-natured Interrogatory. *Forewarned, forearmed.* He was therefore duly *prepared*, and if his Lesson was not *dictated*, it was at least well *conned*, and ready *penned* too, to guard against the Lapses of his Memory: And this important Affair being with

all possible Privacy thus *premeditated*, *prematured*, and as it were *pre-executed*, this aweful Assembly was convened, the grand Consult began, and they thus ordered throughout *Europe* to be published the Wisdom of these their memorable Proceedings.

Proceedings of the Sheriffs and Commons of the City of Dublin, at a general Assembly held at the Tholsel, the 21st Day of July 1749.

WHereas in a Pamphlet intitled, a second Letter to the Commons and Citizens of Dublin, dated May 13, 1749, and printed by James Esdall on Cork-Hill, the following Paragraph was inserted.

'When I found, upon speaking to some of my 'Acquaintance, that you, Gentlemen of the Com-'mons, were, as usual, but partially summoned, when 'I found in a principal Street in this City, in which 'several Brothers live, who are of the Commons, that 'but some of these Brothers had the Disgrace to be 'summoned, for I must suppose none were called but 'such as were deemed Vassals enough to do what the 'Conclave of Cardinals commanded, and so forth.'

Now, we the Sheriffs and Commons in full Assembly met, having called upon our Officer of Commons, and having strictly examined him with Regard to the Justness of the above Charge; the said Officer, in Justification of himself, produced the undermentioned Affidavit.

County of the City of Dublin, to wit, } SAmuel Morgan, of the City of Dublin, Officer of Commons, came this Day before me, and made Oath, on the Holy Evangelists, and saith, That about sixteen Years ago, he, this Deponent, was appointed Officer of Commons of the said City, during which Time, he, this Deponent, never did neglect, to the best of this Deponent's Knowlege, upon all Post-

Poſt-Aſſemblies, and all other Committees, to ſerve, or cauſe to be ſerved, all Summonſes, as this Deponent was directed by the ſeveral Lord Mayors of the ſaid City, nor did this Deponent ever neglect, or omit ſerving ſuch Summons, or Summonſes, willingly, or deſignedly, nor omit ſummoning any particular Perſon, by Order of any Lord Mayor, or any other Perſon, nor did he ever receive any Inſtructions from any Lord Mayor, or any other Perſon whatſoever, to omit ſummoning any Member of the Commons, at any Time, to the beſt of this Deponent's Knowlege, Remembrance, and Belief.

Sworn before me the 21ſt Day of July 1749,
Samuel Morgan. ROBERT ROSS.

The Sheriffs then called upon the Commons, deſiring them to inform the Houſe if any of them could charge the ſaid Officer with ſuch Neglect? to which they replied, they could not. A Motion was then made, and unanimouſly agreed to in ſaid Aſſembly, that the above Paragraph was falſe, malicious, and ſcandalous, and that for the Satisfaction of the Public, and Sake of Truth, have ordered the ſame to be publiſhed in the ſeveral News-Papers of this City.

Signed by Order of the Sheriffs and Commons,
JAMES GODDARD, Cl. Com.

Now, my Friends, and Fellow Freemen, as I have not the moſt diſtant Wiſh to hurt any Man living, either in his Subſtance or good Fame, I will not controvert the literal Veracity of a ſingle Article in Mr. *Morgan*'s Affidavit. It may not, however, be wholly impertinent, to tack a ſhort *Schedule* to the above *Teſtament* of the Common Council; to annex a few ſlight and curſory Remarks, that may ſerve as a kind of *Train to the Dignity of their Proceedings.*

It is above, as you ſee, ſet forth, with all due Form and public Aſſeveration, that this Officer was *ſtrictly examined*, with regard to the Juſtneſs of Mr. *Lucas*'s

Charge

Charge; I repeat, *strictly examined*, by the Sheriffs, and by the Commons, in full Assembly met. Now, what you and I understand by *strictly examining*, is shrewdly questioning, cross-interrogating, re-examining, and thoroughly sifting. ——— Mighty well; all this was extremely legal, solemn, and orderly. —— But what does he answer? not a Word; has he not the Manners to reply to his Masters? not a Syllable; it is not so much as pretended that he did. But pulling out a negative Affidavit from his Pocket, which he had equally prepared for Questions from all Quarters, he imposes it upon this *very examining* and *scrutinous Assembly*, as a Matter of *positive Proof*; and thereupon, this Assembly give their *superlative* Testimony to the Public, not only of this Man's Innocence, and of the Innocence of his unexamined Deputees, and of the more distant Deputees of such Deputations; this had been a light Matter for so substantial a Zeal; they proceed yet further, and against the *uncited*, the *absent*, the *unexamined*, the *unheard Charles Lucas*, they utter their *final Sentence*, and issue their *Condemnation*.

Suppose, now, that some of your arch Wags should happen to lay hold of this same ingenious Affidavit, and should take it into his Head to drop a few Interlineations, without discomposing a Letter, or changeing a single Period: I fancy he might make a very merry Affair of it; let us try what a weaker Attempt might do.

County

County of the City of Dublin, to wit. } SAmuel Morgan, &c. saith, that about sixteen Years ago, *(which was Time enough in all Conscience to learn his Trade)* he, this Deponent, was appointed Officer of Commons of the said City, *(which till of late was a very obsequious and meekly minded City)* during which Time, he this Deponent, never did neglect, *(whatever he might*, have done, *to be now called in question)* to the best of this Deponent's Knowledge, *(for he does not hold it convenient to ransack his Memory)* upon all Post-Assemblies, and all other Committees, *(which he ever looked upon as convened for the sole Purpose of the Aldermen)* to serve, or *(when he did not like the Office)* cause to be served, *(by People for whose Defaults he does not think himself literally answerable)* all Summonses, as this Deponent was directed *(according to the true Purport and Design of such Directions)* by the several Lord Mayors of the said *(so well governed)* City, nor did this Deponent ever neglect, *(to send forth proper Representatives)* or omit serving such Summons, or Summonses, *(as he judged proper to be served)* willingly, or designedly, *(whatever his Deputies might do)* nor omit summoning any particular Person, *(as the Documents he received were general)* by Order of the Lord Mayor, or any other Person, *(however he might have acted*, mero motu, *for their Interests)* nor did he ever receive any Instructions from any Lord Mayor, or any other Person whatsoever, *(for he was so well versed in his Business, he had scarce occasion for Hints)* to omit summoning any Member of the Commons, at any Time, *(that he or his Servants judged it requisite)* to the best of this Deponent's Knowledge, Remembrance, and Belief. *(So help him his present Place, and his Hopes of future Preferment.)*

Thus stands Mr. *Morgan*'s Affidavit, in Substance and in Form unaltered; and only illustrated by a few collateral

collateral Graces, that merely serve to display his Gratitude to his Masters, without impeaching his Veracity, or calling his Honour in Question.

But enough of this Man, and his Negatives. Let us proceed to the criminal Paragraph, which the Commons adjudged so heinous, so impossible to be vindicated, so worthy with its Author of Condemnation.

For this Purpose, cast your Eye but a little back, and you will find that this whole Paragraph, so iniquitously penned by Mr. *Lucas*, amounts to no more than two simple Articles, the first an *Assertion*, the second a *Supposition*: An *Assertion* that he found the Gentlemen of the Commons were but partially summoned, and a *Supposition* that such partial Summonses had a sinister Intention.

With Respect to the Veracity of the *Assertion*, it does not appear that the Adversaries of Mr. *Lucas*, either did chuse, on the late Occasion, or that they ever will chuse to bring it into Debate. But, say, that Mr. *Lucas* had been imposed upon; suppose that you or I had made the like Discovery, by Information or otherwise, suppose that we were misinformed, suppose that we were deceived; yet who *(save the Commons)* will assert, that it is *false*, *malicious*, or *scandalous*, for any Man to be misinformed, for any Man to be deceived.

Let us carry this Matter to its utmost Length. Let us suppose on such Discovery, or Information, or even Misinformation, that the Person, so imposed upon, conceives a Suspicion, that these partial Summonses imply'd some partial and favourite View. Is this Suspicion unnatural, is it unjust? No, my gallant Countrymen. In a Concern so public, in a Matter so nearly and dearly interesting, if the Person so deceived, hath but a *Spark of Patriotism*, if he is a *Lover of Virtue*, if he is a *Lover of Honour*, if he is a *Lover of his Country*, he will not barely suspect, he will vent, he will publish those Suspicions, that

that Truth may be brought to Light; he would be a *Traytor* if he did not.——And yet, your *Fellow Citizen* is adjudged *False*, *Scandalous*, and *Malicious*, for the utterance of a Supposition, to which he was prompted by *Virtue*, obliged by *Honour*, kindled by his *Country*, and which, it would have been the *Breach of all Truth*, it would have been *Treachery*, to have concealed.

O just, O learned Judges! Ye future *Mayors* and *Aldermen*! Ye *Solomons* of the *Island of Saints*! Kings shall come to you from afar, to be instructed in Wisdom! and Queens from the East to attain Judgment and Council!

Was there not One among You, who had the Spirit to remark upon these Proceedings? to require some further Testimony, than the Evidence of a single Person, who was compelled, either to elude the Fact, or to Criminate himself? As he acted by Deputee, why was he not examined by Deputee? why was he not also sworn by Deputee? his Accuser was at Hand, why was he not called for? was the Pale of Interest and Influence so high, that no one Sheep of a Hundred had the Courage to attempt for Freedom? if even one had passed the Bounds, the rest had probably followed; and however in Clemency you might have pardoned your Officer, your Benefactor had escaped the Censure of *Falshood*, *Scandal*, and *Malice*, which now returns doubly barbed into the Bosoms of the *Donors*.

But for whose Sake, O *ye Commons*, did this Man incur your Condemnation? even for *yours*, *ye Givers of equitable Retribution*! for yours, *ye grateful Paymasters* of those who watch over you. His Fault was no other than his *Jealousy* of your Rights, his *Fear* for your Dangers, his *Zeal* for your Interests. Upon reflecting how *long*, how *affectionately*, how *inviolably* he had served you; could you find in his *Wariness* and in his *Warmth* for you, could your Charity,

I say

I say, discover no Motives but those of *Falshood* and *Malice*?

If my Servant, through his Concern for my Property, and Attachment to my Person, is alarmed at a false Report of Robbers, catches up Arms for my Defence, throws himself in the Front of imagined Danger, and in the Bustle unluckily wakens me from a profound Sleep; shall I treat this Man himself as a Felon, merely because he was wakeful to preserve me from their Attacks?

If even the Dog, who guards my Sheepfold, should chance to alarm me, by mistaking a Moonlight Shadow for a Wolf; shall I appoint him a Rope as the Reward of his Fidelity?——I think not—Yet such, O *Commons*, is the Encouragement you give your *Patriots*; such is the *Jewish* Fare, with which you treat those *few Prophets* that are sent unto you.

If ye have done right, defend yourselves, vindicate the Equity and the Honour of this Action, and cast back the Reproach upon me, who stand your Accuser: But if ye have been surprized, or betrayed into this Error, I wage no War with repenting Frailty, and shall be the first to promote and publish your Apology.

F I N I S.

A

SECOND LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT CITIZENS of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A SECOND

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

WORTHY BROTHERS!

IN my last Letter, Page 6. I represented to you, that, You are now upon the Eve of the most critical Event, of the most important and interesting Period of Time, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution. That two Seats are vacant to your City in Parliament; and that it is not now the Question, whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether this Man or that Man shall be chosen. That the Tryal is, between *Power* and *Patriotism*. That the Combat is to be fought between our *Potentates* and our *People*; between *Interest* and *Integrity*; between *Influence* and *Virtue*.

THOUGH this Subject, in the Greatness of its Consequence, demanded my Application and your Attention intire; I was, for the Time, diverted from it, by a Matter of less Weight, but of more immediate Concern to your City.

I NOW return; and lest any should apprehend, that this Combat is to be fought with the Arm of Flesh, I now apprize you both of the Scene and the Parties to the Battle.

THE Scene of the Combat, to which I exhort you, is situated in your own Bosom alone; and the Parties drawn up in Array, are *Prejudice*, *Partiality*, *Favour*; *Appetite*, *Avarice*, *Venality*; *Bribery*, *Corruption*, *Slavery*; with a numerous Host of Attendants: against *Candour*, *Honour*, *Uprightness*; *Sobriety*, *Magnanimity*, *Probity*; *Fortitude*, *Impassability*, *Liberty!* Your Country and your Posterity attending in the Rear, all-anxious and dependent on the Issue of the Conflict.

THROUGHOUT most of our former Elections, the first of these *Parties* hath been indisputably triumphant: Few Abettors of Patriotism shewed their Face; and if any Opposition was given, if any Blow was struck, it was generally by *Interest* against *Interest*, by *Influence* against *Influence*. But the House of *Iniquity* is now no longer divided against itself; they have got Intelligence of your *new levied Forces*; they see your *Virtues arrayed against them*; they tremble for their Seat and their Principality; their whole Powers are united and stimulated to the Battle; and it is therefore, I say, that this Period of Time is the most *critical*, the most *important*, the most *interesting*, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution.

THE Day of this Tryal, my Countrymen, is what my Eyes never hoped to look upon; I rejoice that it

is

is now at Hand; and though the Forces on our Side ſhould prove unequal to the Enterprize, it will be a Glory in our Favour, beyond a Conqueſt in theirs, that we ſtruggled for *Truth*, and contended for *Liberty*.

As the happy or unhappy Iſſue of this Conflict depends upon the Evidence of the Depravity or Integrity of the Combatants, and that it is the Proof of this Diſtinction which conſtitutes the Importance of the Trial: It is from the Merits of the *Electors* and not of the *Elected*, it is from the Virtues of the *Repreſented* and not of the *Repreſentatives*, that we chiefly hope to derive ſuch Conſequences, as will give the promiſed Advantages to our own Country, and the promiſed Precedent to other Climes.

It is therefore, I have ſaid, that it is not now the Queſtion, whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether *this Man* or *that Man* ſhall be choſen. With reſpect to two of theſe Candidates, you alone can beſt judge by their paſt Services and tried Talents, what Fruits you are to look for from their future *Conduct* and *Capacity*. I further believe, with reſpect to the other two Gentlemen, that there are many among You, who, from Experience, can ſpeak highly in their perſonal Favour.

But what may this avail them? were they not *Aldermen*, were they not incorporated with *Men* who have *encroached* upon your *Charters* and *uſurped* upon your *Rights*; to me it is ſufficient Objection that, in a Cauſe where *Intereſt* ought to be wholly an *Alien*, they are ſupported by *Wealth* and *Power*, and abetted by *People in Authority*; and I rather wiſh to ſee you betrayed by a Perſon impartially elected, than ſerved by the Inſtruments of your Venality and

Corruption

Corruption. It is ſurely better, my *Brothers*, to deſerve Succeſs, than even to obtain it at the Price of our own Demerits.

In this Oppoſition, however, I am very far from deſiring to ſtir You up into any Animoſity againſt *One of your Fellow Citizens*; and ſtill leſs, to inſpire you with *Envy*, or *Indignation* againſt your Superiors, againſt Thoſe, whom Providence, the Laws, and the neceſſary Order of Society have placed in due Station, and in Authority over *You*.

The Diſtinctions of Subordination, in every State, are as requiſite, as the Relations, in a private Family, between *Parents* and *Children*, *Maſters* and *Servants*; and all Conſtitutions, that have been framed with any Succeſs, or Tendency to good Government, are no other than the orderly Imitations of Nature.

These *political Syſtems*, however varied, ſtill bear ſome Reſemblance to *natural Proportion*, to the Root, the Stem and the Branches, or to the Head, the Bowels and the Members, where the *Parts*, by a pleaſing Gradation, are ſo intimately united, that they form but one intire and beautiful *Whole*. From the due *Connection* ariſes *Symmetry*, and from the Symetry *Life* and *Action*, *Health* and *Happineſs* muſt reſult; till ſome Member or Portion is *damaged*, or that the Whole is aſſailed, by ſuch *outward Force*, or *inward Diſtemperature*, as may threaten a *total Diſſolution*.

Comparisons of this Nature are of very ancient Authority; there is no One among You who hath not heard of the Likeneſs between a *Natural Body* and *political Body*; and in the early Days of old *Rome*, a popular and favourite Orator, applied the notorious Fable

Fable of the *Belly* and the *Members*, in order to reduce the *Plebeians*, of that City to a Sense of their *Duty*. This he happily effected. Permit me also to make use of the like Allusion, in order to reduce the *Commoners* of this City, to a Sense of their *Rights*.

I WILL suppose, in the political Constitution of this Kingdom, that our *serene Sovereign* represents the *Head*; our *Parliament* the intermediate *Heart* and *Bowels*; and we of the *Vulgar* the inferior *Limbs* and *Extremities*, no small nor useless *Portion* of this great and intimate *Whole*.

Now, in all natural Bodies, the Parts, according to their several Degrees, have their several Offices and Functions assigned them, which no other Part hath a right to encroach upon, which they ought not to be permitted to invade.

I HAVE indeed seen Men stand on their Heads, and walk on their Hands, and I have heard of One who penned a learned Treatise with his Toes; such like Inversions of Nature may be Matter of Curiosity, but they can never tend to due Action or Advantage. It is, therefore, as much the Duty, of every Part and Parcel of the Body, to claim and adhere to its own especial Province and Privilege; as it is its Duty to forbear intruding upon the Province of its Neighbour.

FOR instance. It is the Prerogative and the Duty of the *Head*, to direct the whole Body; to receive Intelligence, from every Part, but more particularly from the Feelings of the Heart and Bowels, of all Wants, Grievances and Satisfactions; and, agreeable to this Intelligence, to issue its Mandates, according to the *right Reason* or *Law* of the particular

lar Conſtitution. Further. It is the Province and the Duty, of the inferior *Hands* and *Feet*, to travel and to labour for the Advantage of the whole Body, and under the Direction of the ſaid *Law* or *right Reaſon*, to *provide*, *chooſe*, and *ſend up* to the Stomach and Bowels, ſuch Supplies and Recruits, as may again return proper Spirits, Blood, and Aliment, throughout the whole Syſtem. Laſtly. It is the Province and the Duty of the *Stomach*, *Bowels*, and *Heart*, to yearn and to feel, even for the moſt minute and outward Extremities of the Body; to receive and give up all Intelligence to the Head; to reliſh and digeſt what alone is healthful for the Conſtitution; and to diſpenſe and promulgate ſuch beneficial Appointments, as may enable the inferior Members, to encreaſe in Action and in Induſtry.

If every Part of this Body was not thus preſcribed, and eſpecially limited to its peculiar Rights and Duties; no one Part could be ſaid to enjoy to itſelf, what its Neighbour might have the Privilege to encroach upon: But where each is duely confined within its proper Sphere of Action, no one hath any thing to apprehend from the Intruſion of another; every Part grows more expert in the Diſcharge of its particular Functions; this very *Diſtinction* preſerves the *Unity*, as well as the Harmony of the Syſtem; from this *Aſſurance of Enjoyment* to each, *true Happineſs* accrues to the Whole; and from this *divided Connection*, this *dependent Independence*, there can alone reſult to All, Life, Health and *perfect Liberty*.

To conclude with this ſimple but juſt Analogy; If the *Stomach* and *Bowels*, ſhould have a *Deſire* and *Craving* after ſuch particular *Supplies of Food*, as might prove *unwholeſome* and *poiſonous* to the whole Frame

Frame. If, on this occasion, they should presume to dictate to the Hands, to send up such *Recruits* as would be agreeable to their *irregular Appetites*. If, in some *depraved Body*, this unhappy *Influence* should prevail, and that the Hands should submit to such *illicit Direction*. I shall not hesitate to assert that the Hands, so *influenced*, would alike prove *Traytors* to themselves, and *corrupted Instruments* of Mischief to the whole Constitution.

WHEREFORE, my *Friends*, as on one Side, I wish you never to *transgress* your proper Limits; so, on the other, I exhort you, that you may not permit your own to be *invaded*. You are not the *Stomach* or the *Bowels*; you are not appointed to be the *Framers* of Laws, or the *Issuers* of Ordinances; But, neither do I wish, that those who are in *Power* and in *Parliament*, should *influence* You to remit them such *Supplies*, as would suit their *Appetites*, more than your own *Interest*.

THIS is the only *Point*, on which I desire to inspire you, with any Spirit of *Opposition*. Let those in *Authority* be content with their *high Station*, and not stoop to encroach upon our *inferior Province*. We want not to pull down the *Mighty* from their Seats, but to exalt the *Worthy* though of *low Degree*. This is our *Prerogative*, this is our *Duty*. It is a *Function*, of which, the present Times and Posterity, our King and our Constitution, our Country and our GOD, demand an impartial *Discharge*. It is a *Right* which the *Great* have ever condescended to *invade*; and this *Invasion* was a *Wrong*, to which the *Little* have almost, universally *submitted*. Separate yourselves from among such *Prostitutes!* Stand forth as the *Chosen* of *Truth* and *Liberty!* And let Unbelievers, for once, be convinced, that *Power* may be unequal

 to

to *Patriotism*, that *Interest* may yield to *Integrity*, and that *Influence* may be conquered by *Virtue*.

When I advise and beseech you to preserve Yourselves, in the above State of *Integrity* and *Independence*; I advise you to the only Means that can possibly attain that *Prosperity*, which must attend on *Freedom* to your *Country*, and that *Happiness*, which must attend on conscious *Merit*, to *Yourselves*.

This State of *Independence*, to which I exhort you, hath nothing in it either of the Cloyster, or the Hermitage; it doth not dissuade you from one innocent Injoyment, neither doth it seclude you from a single Office of Humanity; God forbid!——In every endearing Commerce between Man and Man, *it is Blessed to give, it is Blessed also to receive*. This Kind of *Dependence* makes every Want sacred which *Friendship* or *Charity* can supply. On the very Trespasses and Frailties of our fellow Creatures, it erects our own Feelings of Pardon and Compassion. It is the *Knot of Love* that ties the whole Community of Man. It is the *Chain* that *holds* and *binds* the Universe together.

But that State of *Independence*, to which I would persuade you, is merely an *Independence* from all Kinds of *evil Influence*, either of *Guilt* as Men, or of *Corruption* as Members of Society. This *evil Influence* commences where Appetite passes the Bounds of Temperance and Reason; undue *Appetite* begets *Want*, Want begets *Temptation*, and Temptation begets *Iniquity*. When the *private Man* is thus *debauched*, the *public Member* of Society is not far from *Pollution*. The *natural Cravings* are obvious to *political Baits*; *private Depravity* begets *public Corruption*, and public Corruption begets *national Slavery*.

This

THIS is the natural Course, and inevitable Consequence of Things. Where the *Members* are *tainted*, the *Body* cannot be free from *Pollution*. Almost *all Men* have yielded to *Corruption*; it is therefore that almost *all Nations* have been subjected to *Slavery*.

IS there no *Remedy* for this *epidemic Distemper*? there is, my dear Countrymen, but it lies remote from Practice. We must go back to the Fountain from whence the Mischief flowed. We must delve to the very Root from whence these noxious Excrescencies proceeded. We must oppose *Temperance* to *Appetite*, and *Industry* to *Want*. These indeed would prove *salutary* and effectual *Medicines*. They would do more than restore us. By abridging our Appetites, our *Temperance* would be *Luxury*; by lessening our Wants, our *Industry* would be *Affluence*. This is the *Independence* that would make us truly *free*; this is the true *Freedom* that would make us *valiant*, *virtuous*, and *happy*. Nor, with these Blessings, would we want *Dignities* of the highest *Exaltation*, even *Triumphs*, to which few *Conquerors* have attained; a *Dominion*, to which even *Kings* are *subject*, that of our own *Appetites*, and of our own *Passions*.

HERE would be a Dignity and Dominion, which *Wealth* would never envy, and which *Power* would permit us to enjoy in Safety; since no one grudgeth that to another, which he coveteth not to himself.

NEITHER would this *Independence*, to which I have exhorted you, be productive of Benefits to ourselves alone: Our Superiors would also derive extraordinary Advantages from thence. For as we are equally Idolaters of *Wealth* and *Station*, whether attained by vicious or by worthy Means, whether *disgraced* by *Demerit*

merit or *dignified* by *Virtue*; it is our *servile Dependence* that supports *unjust Power*; our *stupid Admiration* that gives the Glare to *false Honours*; it is from our *abject Attendance*, that *Office* derives its *Insolence*; from the *Baseness* of our *Homage*, that *Wealth* borrows its *Pride*. But would we be *temperate*, would we be *industrious*, would we be *independent* of our *irregular Appetites*, would we be *naturally* and *truly Great*. This borrowed Plumeage would of itself fall from Grandeur; the *Crest* of *Pride* would *sink*; *Station* would learn *Ease*; *Riches* would be taught *Moderation*; *Insult* would vanish from *Office*, and *Audaciousness* from the Eye of an *Irish Landlord*; we might then look up to *Dignity*, without *Diffidence* or *Idolatry*; and draw down to ourselves the Regards of *Deference* and *Respect*.

As all Men have naturally some Tincture of *Avarice* and *Ambition*, I am pleased, that what the World calls *Pomp* and *Place*, are situated so distant from our Expectation; and that the *Temptation*, as well as the *Poison* of those *alluring Baits*, are happily removed both from our Reach and from our Prospect. We are hereby reduced, to the *more ennobling* Necessity, of seeking those *Dignities* within ourselves, which we should vainly attempt by any outward Pursuit.

I ADMIT, that these *internal Treasures* and *Distinctions*, are of a very different Nature from those, which most of our Superiors possess; and yet they are such, as have, heretofore, been deemed superior in themselves to all other Possessions; even *Temperance* and *Industry*, the Fruits whereof are sweet, *Integrity* which we will hold fast, and *Truth* which we will not barter for Diamonds and Rubies.

THESE were, once, the sole *Treasures* and *Distinctions* of the greatest Nations on this Globe; they were

were the only *Pride* and the only *Pillars* of *Sparta* and of *Rome*, on this Foundation they built their former Grandeur, and hence alone they derive their endless Glory. Why may not the same Causes produce equal Effects? why may we not build up our *Country* with equal Materials? but if such a blissful Consequence of our *Virtues* is denied us; they will, at least, be to ourselves in the Place of *Patrons* and *Preferments*. They will be a *Garment* that cannot be worn out, a *Fund* that cannot be spent, a *Feast* that will always relish; they will be *Courage* in Danger and Distress, *kind Companions* in Solitude, and in Death *Life* everlasting.

As I shall come hereafter to unfold at full the *Nature* of *Elections*, and from thence to enlarge on the *Duties* of *Electors*; I will then demonstrate to you, that this *Privilege* is the most *valuable*, the most *interesting*, and the most *important*, of all the *Rights* and *Possessions* of a free Subject. That this is the most *sacred* of all *social Duties*, the most *religious* of all *moral Obligations*. Alas! how often *prostituted*, how generally *profaned!*

I HAVE, now, but barely time, to touch these Subjects as I pass. If your Adversaries, who, on this Occasion, would gladly make a *Jest* of your *Integrity*, and turn your *Virtues* into *Ridicule*, if they will admit, I say, that there was any Thing in this *Institution*, originally intended, beyond a mere Matter of *Farce* and *Festival*; what can they alledge to withold you from the Observance? If it is our *Duty*, shall we not *perform* it? if our *Country* prefers her *Claim*, shall we be *deaf* to her *Demands?* can any Man avow his *Honesty*, while he openly *defrauds* his Creditors? can any Man pretend to *Honour*, while he publickly *betrays* his Trust?

IF,

If, a justly scrupulous, and pious Man, shall scarce pardon himself a sinful Wish or Inclination; what must the Guilt of that Wretch be, whose *Sin* is a *Plague* or Contagion, *wilfully* spread, and communicated through a Nation. The *Guilt* of the *Prostitute-Elector* is yet more *fatal* in its Consequences, more *extensive* in its Effects; it *descends* to Those unborn, and *widens* through Posterity.

Admit, that general *Practice* may be pleaded against good *Precepts*; will Custom give a Sanction to Evil? will Prescription alter the Nature of Things? or can Precedent give us a Right to elude our own Conscience, and rebel against the apparent Dictates of Truth?

If *Manners* and *Habits* are said to descend from *Courts*, and to flow down from the *Great* as from their *proper Fountain*. If *Fashions*, however *corrupt*, have taken their Rise *above us*. Let us, my Countrymen, for once have the Ambition and the Spirit, to begin one *Fashion* among ourselves. Let us dare to put on this *Habit of Virtue*, and give some of our Superiors a *Precedent*, which, perhaps, on the Account of the *Novelty*, they might be ashamed of themselves to *commence*.

If *Vice* is the *Mode*, what is that to us? Shall an honest down right *Citizen*, or *Countryman*, be ashamed, because his *rustic Coat* is not cut after the *Taste*, or his *plain Morals* trimmed after the *Times*? If we permit ourselves to be divested of these our *honest Garments*; will Those who strip Us, in return, lend us their *Robes* and their *Ornaments*? even so, we should be still left in *Poverty* and in *Nakedness*. *For what may a Man take in Exchange for his Integrity? What can*

can it profit him to gain the whole World, if he loses himself.

BUT, some *Electors* may say, they are already *engaged*, by *Obligation*, by *Gratitude*, by *Friendship*, by *Interest*. They are *Dealers*, such a Man is their *Customer*. He is their *Creditor*, they are therefore his *Slaves*. Or, perhaps, they have been *solicited*, *surprized*, or *shamed* into a *Promise*; they are Men of *Honour*, their Promise is their *Bond*, a *Judgment* entered against them.

BUT what is all this? an *Obligation* of a *Hair's Retention*, a *Tie* of *rotten Thread*; in comparison of the *previous Chains*, and *Cables* of *Nature*, of *Truth*, of *Liberty*, of our *Country*. Shall an *Attachment* to *one Man*, to a simple *Unit* among *Milions*, burst and cancell the *Debts* and *Obligations* to *Mankind?* Is it the *Candidate's Interest* or *Emolument* that is sought? Is that the Purpose of his Election? Is it a Matter of *private Concern* to the *Elector* or *Elected* alone?

No, my Brethern, the *Concern* is *public*, and *such ought your Search and your Election to be.*

REMEMBER, *my Countrymen*, that while *Samson* retained his *Integrity*, such like *Cords* of *Philistine Slavery* were to him but as *singed Towe*. But when he became *leagued* in *Vice*, and *debauched* into *Affinity* with the *Enemies* of *Israel*; he was speedily *shorn* of his *Strength* and of his *Virtue*. He was *bound*, he was *blinded*, and appointed to the *Drudgery* of the *Ass*, and to the *Burden* of the *Camel*.

The End of the SECOND LETTER.

A

THIRD LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT CITIZENS of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

where can we find a *Sphere* so open, a *Province* so expanded, as that of a *Farmer*?

THE *Goddess Liberty*, to him, is like the inspiring *Geniuses* of *Socrates* and *Numa*, still instructive at his Ear, or attendant on his Steps. What, though my native Hills, neither *fatten* with the *Olive*, nor *blush* with the Juice of the *Grape*; though my *Morsel* should be *hard-earned*, and my *Cloathing* no better than the *coarse* Wool of my own Flock; yet the Security of this *Property*, the noble Sense of this *Independence*, can *sweeten* the one, and *refine* the other.

WHILE I thus enjoy Advantages, whose Value knows no Price, I envy not the *Luxury* of *Vassalage*, nor the *precarious Possession* of *Slaves*, and I am ready to cry out, with Mr. *Addison*,

BUT, what avail their unexhausted Stores,
Their blooming Mountains, and their sunny Shores,
With all the Gifts, that Heav'n and Earth impart,
The Smiles of Nature, and the Charms of Art,
While *proud Oppression* in each Valley *reigns*,
And *Tyranny usurps* their *servile* Plains?
The *sad* Inhabitant beholds in vain
The red'ning Orange, and the swelling Grain;
Joyless he sees the growing Oils and Wines,
And in the Myrtle's fragrant Shade, *repines*;
Starves, in the Midst of Nature's Bounty, *curs'd*,
And in the loaden Vineyard, *dies* for Thirst.

O *Liberty*, thou Goddess heav'nly bright,
Profuse of *Bliss*, and pregnant with *Delight*!
Eternal *Pleasures* in thy Presence reign,
Ev'n *Poverty* grows *Plenty* in thy Train;

Eas'd

Eas'd of her Load Affliction treads more *light*,
Sickness and Pain look *chearful* in thy Sight!
Thou mak'st the gloomy Face of Nature *gay*,
Giv'st *Beauty* to the Sun, and to the Day,
'Tis *Liberty* that crowns *Hibernia*'s Isle,
And makes her barren Rocks, and her bleak Mountains *smile*.

Is it then unnatural, for a *Farmer*, to express Ideas with which he is daily conversant? or rather, hath he not, above all others, a peculiar Claim to Inspiration from *this Subject*? He is not immured in Courts, nor pent in with Crouds, neither is his Vision straitened or abridged by the Closeness of Objects; his Soul, like his Eyes, hath room to expatiate; and all that he sees, all that he contemplates, join to assist the *Freedom* and *Reach* of his Thoughts.

THE *extended* Fields; the *aspiring* Mountains; the *ranging* Flocks; the *soaring* Birds; the Rivers *flowing freely* in their appointed Channels; the Planets, in the Midst of a Circuit apparently spontaneous, *preserving*, through the boundless Tracts of Æther, *a Course*, wholly *regular*, *harmonious*, and *orderly*, admonish him to preserve himself, and (as far as in him lies) his Country, within that *Medium* where *true Liberty* alone can dwell, between *Chains* and *Anarchy*, between *Slavery* and *Licentiousness*; and surely, He, who encroaches on no Man's Tenure, may be admitted to walk at large; He, who rises with the Lark, may be allowed to sing with a little Rapture.

I CANNOT, my dear and worthy Bothers, too frequently inculcate that *important* and *pressing Duty*, which Posterity, and the present extraordinary Occasion, require, and insist upon at your Hands. Your Sentiments

Sentiments of *Liberty* are so jestingly spoke of by Many, and indeed all Sentiments of *Virtue* are in general so lightly esteemed; that you are particularly called upon by your Country, to vindicate the *Sincerity* of your *Principles* in your *Perseverance*; as, I trust, you are called upon by Providence, through the *Evidence of your Merit*, and *the Prevalence of your Example*, to rescue this Age from its present *Depravity*.

It is not therefore sufficient, as I have before observed to you, that, on the approaching Election, your choice of Representatives should barely be free, impartial, and uninfluenced; You must also *prove* that it is so, You must *demonstrate* to the World, that no *Prejudice intervened*, that you were wholly *unbyassed by Authority*.

When the Wife of *Julius Cæsar* was lightly aspersed, on the Account of some pretended Intimacy with *Clodius*; *Cæsar*, who held *Honour* to be a necessary *Attendant* upon *Virtue*, determined on a Divorce; and when it was alledged, that Appearances were rather in the Lady's Favour, and that probably she was innocent; it is not enough, said that *Hero*, that the Wife of *Cæsar* should be *innocent*, she must also be *unsuspected*.

So say I, to You, my *Countrymen*; it is not sufficient for you, to be *uninfluenced* in this Election; the *Unbelief* of your Adversaries, the *Expectation* of your Friends, the *Suspense* of the Public, the *Attention* of our Neighbours, *Precedent*, *Example*, *Liberty*, *your Country*, demand that you clear Yourselves from all *Doubt*, from all *Suspicion of Influence*.

Now, as this cannot be done, in your Election of any Man, however wise, meritorious, and personally qualified,

qualified, who yet is recommended to you by Power, or supported in his Claim by Authority: I exhort you rather to choose your Representatives for Parliament, in the way that *Cyrus* chose his Companion for Empire, even the first casual Man you should happen to meet in a Morning; than not to make your own *Virtues* apparent and illustrious, by seeking among the *Virtuous*, for *Virtue* alone.

If there is a Motive yet more sacred; if an Obligation can remain, more binding upon You, than any hitherto recited; it is that of shewing to a faithless and devious Generation, that there is such a Thing as *Patriotism*, such a Thing as *Integrity*, as *free* and *disinterested Candour*, yet extant among Men.

It is a Question, my *Brothers*, which our Adversaries are not contented to bandy in their *private Conversations*; they insolently and impudently *publish* it in their *Libels* against us.

"Ay, they say, *Enthusiasm* will beget *Rant*; and "*Rant* may beget *Riot*, the Spirit of Madness may "be catching for a Season. But which of these "gallant *Freemen*, of these *boasted Independents*, will "be firm enough to withstand a single *Temptation?* "which of them, for his dear *Country*, will sacrifice "a Hair of his *Property?* which of them will not "Wince, when the Point comes to touch their *Inte-* "*rest which is their Flesh and their Bone?*"

How willingly would Strumpets flatter themselves, that Virtue is no better than Hypocricy in the Rest of their Sex. Those, who are themselves degenerate from Honour, would gladly persuade Us that All like them, have gone astray; *that there is none worthy upon Earth*, no, not One.

AMONG

AMONG Others, there is a certain *Declaimer*, who hath very lately publiſhed this his Charitable Opinion, of his Country, and of his Species. He is One however, whom I ſhall not attempt to raiſe from a juſt Obſcurity, by Recital of his Name; nor ſhould I have deſcended to take the leaſt Notice of his Performance, if his Droſs had not received both Sanction and Currency, from the Stamp and Approbation of a Body of Gentlemen, againſt whom I may enter the Liſts with Honour, though, at the ſame Time, with abundant Reluctance.

THUS flouriſhes the *Rhetorician*.

" TRUE Patriotiſm is a Flower of a moſt tender
" and delicate Nature. The fine Soil it delights to
" be planted in, the Care and Diligence required in
" the Management and Cultivation of it, to bring it
" to Maturity, gives me great Room to fear we muſt
" expect but a very few Slips of it to adorn even our
" fineſt Gardens in this remote frigid Region."

LO, my Friends, how the Applications of the Wiſe, and the Struggles of the Valiant, the Toils of Nations, and the Cultivation of Ages are dwindled into the Capacity of a *delicate Noſegay*, are ſhrunk into the rare Production of a *tender Flower!* What a *Mouſe* hath this Man's *Midwifry* brought forth for the *Offſpring* of ſo many *Mountains!* Hath the Blood of our generous Anceſtors manured this Land, merely to generate this *idle Infant* of the Spring, this tranſient and *fruitleſs Abortion* of their Labours?

BUT, if *Patriotiſm* muſt of neceſſity be a Matter of *Vegetation*, why a *Flower?* why a *Thing of Inſignificance*,

nificance, just to smell to, and cast away? Why not rather this *Oak* of *Virgil?*

Ac veluti annoso validam cùm robore quercum
Alpini Boreæ, nunc hinc, nunc flatibus illinc
Eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et alte
Consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes:
Ipsa hæret Scopulis: et quantum Vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.

As when the Winds their airy Quarry try;
Justling from ev'ry Quarter of the Sky;
This way and that the mountain Oak they bend,
His Boughs they shatter, and his Branches rend;
With Leaves and falling Mast they spread the Ground,
The hollow Vallies echo to the Sound:
Unmov'd, the royal Plant their Fury mocks,
Or shaken, clings more closely to the Rocks;
Far as he shoots his tow'ring Head on high,
So deep in Earth his fix'd Foundations lye.

Dryden.

Here would be a *Vegetable* somewhat worthy of Comparison, with *steady*, *sublime*, and *well grounded Patriotism.* Here, though *Floods* should circle, and *Tempests* assail; though *Influence* should endeavour to sap, and *Contention* to overturn; the *Patriot*, like the *Oak*, would be attempted in vain; for his Root would cling to the *Rocks*, he would hold fast to his *Integrity:* And as high as his Actions should aspire to Heaven, as broad as his Beneficence should branch upon the *Earth*; so wide and deep beneath would his *Resolution* extend, *unshaken*, since *adhering to Virtue.*

" fix themſelves in their Room, and afterwards
" laugh at and deſpiſe the Crowd who had joined
" them, and had helped them to fill up the Chorus in
" the Cry of *Slavery* and *Oppreſſion*."

In Charity, I am loth to call upon this Author for Proofs of theſe Facts, however boldly aſſerted; where the bare Explanation of his Meaning might bring his perſonal Safety into Queſtion for a Sarcaſm, ſo maliciouſly, and ſo without Exception caſt on a King, an Adminiſtration, and a whole People, wherever they be.

I SHALL, therefore, no further animadvert on theſe two very inſtructive Paragraphs, than to obſerve to you, that the firſt would evidenlty inſinuate, that there is no ſuch Thing as even a *Slip* of *Patriotiſm*, of *Public-ſpirit*, of *Love of Country or Community*, of *diſintereſted Honour*, of *unbiaſſed Benevolence*, neither in *Eſſe* nor in *Poſſe*, neither in *Fact* nor in *Capacity*, throughout this extended Kingdom of *Ireland*.

THAT, the ſecond Paragraph, indeed, kindly attempts to comfort you, on the Receipt of ſuch melancholy Tidings, by giving you to underſtand, that your Neighbours are not a whit better than yourſelves; and that, however a Country may be *loſt*, *ruined*, and *enſlaved*; however corrupt or vicious an Adminiſtration may be, the *Struggles of Patriotiſm*, and the *Profeſſions of Virtue*, ſimply mean no more, than an *Attempt at the Spoil*, and a *Portion of the Plunder*.

Now, as we cannot but ſuppoſe, that ſo pious a Preachment muſt intend ſome Application; I would adviſe with you, my Countrymen, what Moral you are to infer.

IN

In Truth the only Instruction, that I conceive he can propose, is, that you ought equally to acquiesce under the Spur and the Bitt of all who hold the Reins of Government. Since, *there is no Choice nor Disparity of Rulers.* Since, *all Men in Power are Vermin, who equally prey on the Body Politic.* Since, no *Man seeks Advancement, but in Prospect of being one of the same pernicious Species.* Since, *there is no such Thing as disinterested Integrity upon Earth.* Since, *private Lucre is the sole Incentive that alike animates human Nature.* Since, *the Soul of every one living is alike subject to Prostitution, provided you can make up the Difference of the Price.* Since, *your choosing this Man or that Man is like shaking the old Bag of Millers where a Thief must of Necessity come out.* And that, *as you the Electors, and the Elected, are indiscriminately a Pack of Scoundrels, it is none but a Knave who can naturally represent you.*

Is not all this extremely candid, and charitable in him? What an amiable Mirror must a Man look into, who should draw from himself such a Picture of Humankind?

But, my Brothers, if we have any right Conjecture of the Kingdom that this Author speaks of in the above Paragraph, no History, no Time, no Annal of Heroism, no Record of Fame, can boast a Country so *obliged*, so *benefited*, so *honoured*, by her *Patriots*. What stupendous Characters! What sacred Names! What watchful Councils! What bloody Effusions! What Senates of *Solons!* What Hosts of Decii! How hath the Wisdom of Nature been stretched, how have the Veins of the Valiant been exhausted, to *form*, *support*, *cherish*, and *bring to Maturity*, this unexampled *Constitution*, this Perfection

fection of *Policy*, this Coalescence and grand Effort of every *human Virtue*.

If there is yet any Decay or Falling off among them, if the Sun of their long Day begins to decline from his Meridian. Is it not because the Populace have passed the Bounds of Temperance, and have acquired Appetites beyond what their Industry can supply? What further Defence against Bribery and Slavery, where the Head-piece of Reason is forsaken, and the Shield of Religion cast away? Such as are the *Electors*, such will be the *Elected*. *Corruption* cannot be *represented* by *Incorruption*. He who sells himself to Bondage, hath no right to complain that he is disposed of at Pleasure.

But this is an Extremity from which I trust they are yet far distant. There are still a Myriad among them, who have not bowed to the *Baal* of Influence. There are not only *Ten*, but *Tens of Thousands* yet powerfull in their *Righteousness* to save even a *Sodom* from Destruction.

In their *State*, though all are allowed to watch over the *Course of Government*, and to give public Warning of any *observable Deviation*, but a very Few are admitted to the *Direction* of the *Chariot*; and no One can be justly charged with any *intended Error*, who hath not a *Place* on the *Box*, or a *Hand on the Rein*. Even among those Few, we have the other Day received the most illustrious of all Precedents, in the Conduct of *a Patriot*, who voluntarily forsook the Seat of Government, because he was not permitted to give such a Direction to Affairs, as his great Zeal advised him, would have most conduced to the Benefit, and to the Glory of his Country.

He

He put all *worldly Advantages* into one Scale; his own *Integrity* into the other, and the former kick'd the Beam. Do you think then that he returned less Bright or less Eminent? no. By thus descending from *nominal* he arose to *real Honour*; by thus divesting himself, he shewed that all *Additions of State*, had served but to eclipse *his personal Lustre*.

But, my worthy Countrymen, if *Patriotism* is not confined to exalted Station; if it is not the Extent of Power, but *the Expansion of a generous and social Heart*, that truly constitutes this *distinguished Virtue*: We need not take any Voyages for the Discovery of this *pretended Phænomenon*.

There are Numbers among ourselves, *who daily go about doing Good*; whose *Studies*, whose *Fortunes*, whose *Labours*, whose *Lives*, *are wholly dedicated to the Service of their Country*: But as my Age does not admit of a long Recollection, I shall only mention from my own Observation, within fifteen or sixteen Years past, what *Fruits* you have already gathered from this plenteous *Tree* of *Patriotism*, so abundantly hath it been nourished by the Dews of Heaven, so widely and beneficently is it spread over this Land.

Our *Charter Schools* equally schemed for the Cultivation of Mind and Body for the Advancement of Industry and Propagation of true Religion. *A Society* formed in this *Metropolis* for the Improvement of Science and the Encouragement of National Manufactures. *A Musical Society* for Relief of insolvend Debtors. *Stephens's Hospital*. The *Charitable Infirmary*. *Mercer's Hospital*. The *Hospital for Incurables*. The *Hospital for the Relief of Lying-in Women*, have all within that Term, been planned, instituted,

instituted, supported, and conducted, by the Wisdom, Generosity, Application, and Attention of our *private Patriots*, without the Assistance of any National or Parliamentary Donation.

FROM this last most useful and wisely founded Benevolence, *for the Relief of Lying-in Women*, the People of *London* have condescended to take Example, and on the like Scheme have erected an Hospital in *Middlesex*; as they also, about the Year 1740, erected a *Foundling Hospital*, upon the Plan of ours at the *Poor House*: And thus that Benignity and *Patriotism*, which hath been so warmly kindled in this Kingdom, is already advancing, and spreading its happy Influence to other Climes.

Do we allow ourselves any *Recreation*, do we admit of any *Entertainment* that doth not in some measure partake of this *benevolent Spirit*? Our *Plays*, our *Assemblies*, our *Musical Appointments*, the *Air* of our *public Walks*, as I may say, breathes *the very Air of Patriotism*.

Is not this whole Kingdom to *our* MADDEN, as one Village was to the *Man of Ross*? In what Manufacture doth his *fair Flower of Patriotism* not *flourish*? through what Science doth it not *spread*? in what Spot of this Nation doth it not *take Root*? Is it not *Corn* to our Husbandman, *Manure* to our Mountains, *Culture* to our Desarts, *Employment* to our Crafts, *Trade* to our Merchants, *Housewifry* in our Houses, *Harvest* in our Fields, *Elegance* in our Arts, *Learning* in our University?

HAD his Ability been greater, his Benefits had been yet more extended: Had his Talent been smaller, his Virtue would yet have been the same.—— According to your several Capacities, *go You and do likewise*.

The END *of the* THIRD LETTER.

A

FOURTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Eſſex-ſtreet.
MDCCXLIX.

A FOURTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My beloved Brethren,

ALTHOUGH I have always had that Attachment to this Kingdom, by which every Man is bound to the especial Service of the Country, from whence he derived his Birth and Nourishment; though I further feel that *allowable Partiality* for this my native Soil, without which, few People have *Spirit* to proceed even to the Extent of their Duty: Yet those Regards, till very lately, have been general, and unmixed with the Consideration of any Place, or Sett of People, as distinguished, by a particular Interest or Claim, from the Rest of the Inhabitants of *Ireland.*

WHEREFORE,

WHEREFORE, when I was told that you complained of some Usurpations of Authority in your City, *I was One of the* GALLIOS *who cared for none of these things*; and I held it to be Matter of little Consequence to you, and of less to my Country in general, whether this Authority had been *duly*, or *unduly obtained*, provided it was *duly exerted*; whether You were governed by *These* or by *Those*, provided you were governed with Equity.

WHEN I was further informed, that *Two* of your *fellow Citizens* had attempted to excite you to a Resentment of these Encroachments; I looked on them as a Couple of turbulent Tribunes, who breathed more of Faction than Reformation; and I determined, to the best of my Ability, to oppose such a Spirit; and to vindicate those your Rulers, in their Assertion of the Authority they possessed.

FOR this purpose, I took some Pains to be acquainted with the particular Circumstances of your Case.

BUT when I clearly understood the Nature of *this Innovation*: That it was equally contrary to the *whole Tenor*, as to the *express Grants* of your CHARTERS. That *Aldermen* were no *inherent Part* of your original Constitution. That You yourselves had been the *primitive Parents* who begot them. That You had erected them merely as *collateral Props* to your Political Building. That they now presumed to say that they themselves were *your City* and the *Corner Stones* thereof. That they had *seized* on the Inheritance which they were called to *defend*. That they had *rejected* the very People by whom alone they were *chosen*; and that they claimed to be *self-elected* and *self-begot-*

ten, *Rulers* elected of *Rulers*, and *Aldermen* begotten of *Aldermen:* Then indeed my Advocation became mute, and Silence was the only Instance of Friendship they could expect, where Pleading had been absurd, and Vindication impossible.

SHORTLY after, when I heard, that *Those your two* CHAMPIONS had spirited you up to a public Demand, for the Repair of this Breach in your Constitution; and that they had actually undergone great Fatigues and Expence in their Endeavours to bring the Matter to an Issue in your favour: As I began to look on the Motive of their Labours, in a Light, very different from that in which it had formerly appeared; I own I most heartily wished Success to their Undertaking, in any Method that Law and good Government would admit: For as we have a wise Maxim in our Policy, that generously injoins us, *to suffer a partial Injury rather than a public Inconvenience*, I would exhort you for ever to suspend the Redemption of your particular Rights, rather than to redress yourselves, by any Means that might embroil either the Peace, or the peaceful Disposition of your Country.

As I was not, at that time, engaged to you, by any personal Attachment, or singular Esteem; the Motive, that excited my Wishes in your Behalf, was general, it was wholly National, but it was also of the utmost Importance.

THE Constitution of these Kingdoms, my Countrymen, is free, in a Manner, and by Appointments, highly superior to any that *Rome* or *Greece* could ever boast. We ourselves sit in the *Senates* or *Parliaments* of these Nations by our Election of such Persons as we request to represent Us there; we

we choose to think with their Heads, to speak with their Voices, and therefore in them we dictate and institute those Laws whereby we ourselves desire to be governed. I can further alledge, that from these august Representatives of the whole People, down to the meanest Subject in either Realm, there is no Man who can legally be abridged of his Life, his Liberty, or his Property, but by the judgment of Peers, or Jurors, appointed by his own Consent; since he is intitled to a Negative upon every Person, against whom he can form any feasible Objection.

As I knew this to be the glorious and unprecedented Constitution of these Kingdoms in general, *where no Person is limited, save in his Capacity of Mischief*, and *where the Powers of the Legislature are so universally communicated, that each Person joins, by himself, or his Proxy, in the Appointment of those Ordinances to which he consents to submit*; and this I knew to be the Essence of PERFECT LIBERTY: I concluded, that all the *Incorporated Systems*, all the *lesser Institutions*, that were conceived within this great and GENERAL PARENT, bore the *Image* of their BENEFICENT MOTHER; and I am still persuaded, however they have *degenerated*, that they were *originally begotten and brought forth in* HER *Likeness*.

WHEREFORE, when I found, in so *considerable* a System as the *Incorporated Society of the Metropolis* of this Kingdom, that the People, for whose *Benefit*, the Institution was formed, *had no share in the Disposition of Property granted for their Emolument*; *no Voice in the Ordinances framed for their Conduct*, *nor even a Negative in the Election of Rulers by whom they were to be governed*: It appeared to be an *Offspring of so monstrous a Depravity*, so wholly alien and *opposite to our general Constitution*; that I could not but

but look upon it, as *an iniquitous Encroachment on publick Liberty*; a *kind of mortified Spot in a Limb of the great Body Politic*; and how far the Infection might spread, how widely the Permission of such a Precedent might influence, was fearful to Reflection.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, indeed, that as I was no way interested in this Affair, further than an Individual, whose warm Wishes for the Publick extended to all the Branches thereof; I did not find myself disposed to a Mood, equally wrathful, with that of your *particular Patriots*; I found no Resentment arise within me against your *Lords*, whether *Mayors* or *Aldermen*.

THERE are some among *those Gentlemen* to whom I am personally engaged, as well by a voluntary Affection and Esteem, as by extraordinary Obligations; I saw that they were not the primitive Intruders; I saw that they came peaceably into the Possession of your Privileges; and I further considered, that the original Usurpation might have been effected, as much by the shameful Treachery or Remissness of your own Predecessors, as by the Invasion of Those who first availed themselves of your Possessions.

WHEN the present set of *Aldermen* were invested with Authority, they found you Strangers to your own Interests, they found you Blind to your own Rights. There is a certain Season assigned to some Creatures, before which, their Eyes will not open to the Light. If such was your Case, was it the Business of the *Aldermen* to hasten this Period?

IF I become seized of an Estate, whereof some of my Ancestors, without my Knowledge or Privity, had unjustly possessed themselves, If, thereafter, the right

right Owner ſhould put in his Claim. I ſhall yet be accounted ſufficiently honeſt, if according to all Cuſtom, I withold the Poſſeſſion, till evicted by the very long Courſe and Judgment of the Law. If, however, upon Conviction of the Demandant's Right, I ſhould voluntarily ſurrender the Poſſeſſion; I imagine that this would be looked on as an Inſtance of ſingular Juſtice. But no One will ſay that it was incumbent upon me to be over ſedulous in the Search of another Proprietor, or inquiſitive after Rights ſuperior to my Own.

THERE are, my Brethren, two Kinds of *Guardianſhips* in our Law; the one of *Minority*, the other of *Ideotiſm*; the firſt *accountable*, the ſecond *without Account*; the one, of Perſons ſuppoſed *capable* of an Underſtanding to which they have not yet arrived; the other, of Perſons ſuppoſed *incapable* of arriving to any Underſtanding at all.

Now, ſhould a Minor attain the Years in which the Law admits him to the Intelligence of his own Intereſts, ſhould he yet decline to intermeddle, ſhould he ſhew no Senſe of Property by any Challenge or Aſſertion: It will be Wiſdom, as well as Policy, in his Guardian, to conclude that he hath a *Right* to continue to diſpoſe of that Perſon with his Property, who thus demonſtrates that he hath not *Reaſon* to diſpoſe of himſelf; and ſhould this Guardian happen to die during ſuch Inſenſibility, that very *Ward* who was claimed by the *Anceſtor* as a *Minor*, will be claimed by the *Heir* as a *Fool*.

Such was the very Caſe between you and the *Aldermen*. The preſent *Board* entered upon the Guardianſhip of your Perſons, and the Diſpoſition of your Properties, when ſome of you ſeemed to be of a full

Age

Age, and most of you, in Appearance, were at the Years of Discretion. *You did not however claim the Election of your own Guardians. You never made a single Motion to call them to account.* The two *specific Characteristics*, the very *Criterions* of Ideotism. No doubt then but their Surprize was great, and their Alarm not inconsiderable, when after so *long a Suspension of Intellects*, so confirmed a Prescription against your *common Sense of Things*, you were suddenly roused from your Lethargy, and awakened to the Knowledge and Assertion of your Rights.

But, now, you will say, that you have a clear *Understanding* of those Rights, and a *Capacity* of those Properties. Now that all Eyes perceive that those are your *Robes* with which Aldermen are *invested*. Now that the Aldermen themselves deny nothing of your *Privileges* ——— *saving the Restoration*. Why do they yet retain, wherefore do they with-hold them?

In Truth, my Friends, I have, on this Occasion, run throughout History, I have searched among the Moderns, and ransacked the Antients, to find some Example wherewith I might reproach *these same Aldermen*, to find some Precedent of *Great Men*, who once seized of *undue Power*, have at any Time offered a voluntary Surrender thereof to the *Proprietors*.

Alas! what an idle Journey, what a fruitless Disquisition. No Trace of such a Virtue can I discover, except in an old Romance of *Theseus*, and in the modern Instance of *Alderman* Ross *your present Lord-Mayor*, who is at once the highest *Honour*, and the highest *Reproof* to his Fraternity, who not only makes a Tender of every Article of your Claims with which he himself is invested, but hath also engaged to solli-

cit in Parliament the full Restoration and Establishment of all your ancient Privileges.

But, my dear Countrymen, do not consider this my Apology for your Aldermen, as an Approbation, in any measure, of their Conduct. If I shew you that there is no Necessity for flying into angry Passions, because Great Men behave—*like Great Men*; this doth not declare, that Authority is a Sanction for Injustice, or that Precedents for *Wrong-doing* give a *Right* to similar Actions. No Mode, no Custom, can reverse the Nature of Things; and whatever is intrinsically iniquitous will always continue so. *Truth* in every Case is like our *King*, or our *Church*, against which Lawyers say, *nullum Tempus occurrit*, there can be no Prescription; and one of the *principal Maxims* whereon our Constitution is pillared, is this, *Quod ab initio non valet tractu temporis non convalescit*; in plain English, *That which was originally against Reason, can never be made reasonable by length of Time*, alias, *Your Aldermen continue the same Iniquity in with-holding your Rights, that their Predecessors were guilty of in usurping them.*

I am therefore no way inclined to dissuade you from attempting the Recovery of your *Privileges*, by all the Means in which you yourselves are *privileged*, to reclaim them; by *Petitions*, *Addresses*, *Remonstrance*, *Solicitation*, *Suit*, by every Method that is consistent with that *right Reason* on which your Claim is founded, and which indeed ought to be the *principal Motive* of your Demand, that is, the *Well-being of Society*, the *Restoration of what is lopped from our Constitution*, the *Re-establishment of what is lapsed in our Country.*

The

The Seſſion of our Parliament approaches. Such a *National Concern*, as I have proved yours to be, will come beſt before the Repreſentatives of a *Nation* who are wholly intereſted in it; and if you and your Countrymen have heretofore ſet any Value, even on thoſe Privileges, of which no Man hath yet attempted to deprive you; if you have been careful to return ſuch Conſtituents for your Country, as were moſt knowing, and moſt zealous in the Welfare thereof; your Concern will be their Concern, your Intereſt their Intereſt, in them you will give Ear to your own Pleading, in them you will judge your own Cauſe, and there is no Queſtion but you will meet with ample Redreſs.

If, on the contrary, you have *betrayed your own Truſt*, what Faith are you to expect from Thoſe *who repreſent you?* If you have elected your Conſtituents through *partial Motives*, is it among ſuch you are to look for a *public Spirit?* If you have been falſe to *your Country* in your Appointment of her Servants, the Meaſure you gave to Her will be meted out to Yourſelves. If you have thus iniquitouſly neglected the *great Body of your Privileges*, you will be equitably abridged of the *ſmaller Members* which you claim.

But Time yet ſerves. All is not loſt, my Brethren. Much Power is ſtill in your Hands. If you have a Senſe of paſt *Detriment*, if you now feel the *Smart* of former *Woundings*; let it warn you to your *approaching Defence*, let it inſtruct you to your *future Preſervation*. Never look for a Reſtitution of what is *already pillaged*, if you are not reſolute in your *Vindication* of what you *yet retain*.

You are once more permitted to a free Election of your Representatives; and the Objects of that Election will thereby be commissioned to assert your remaining Interests, and to reclaim your lapsed Rights. I will ask you then a simple Question. Whom do you intend to appoint for this great Purpose? is it the Men who already are *invested* with your Privileges, or is it the Men who already have laboured for their *Redemption*? is it those who have *plundered*, or those who would *restore*?

A LATE *Censor*, in a Treatise on the ensuing Election, hath told you, that "*Grandeur, Riches, or Honours, are no Disqualifications; that you are not confined in your Choice, with respect to Aldermen, Commoners, Merchants, Apothecaries, Brewers*, &c. *and that he is not against Aldermen, merely as Aldermen.*" But I have already told you, and again repeat it, that on this very critical and particular Occasion, *Grandeur, Riches*, and *Honours*, are such Disqualifications, as no Merit, no Capacity, no Integrity should reconcile to you; and that you have no way left to retrieve or attain a Character of that Virtue which you now profess, but by thus detatching yourselves from all Suspicion, all possible Imputation of Influence. Further. If I have not yet sufficiently explained myself on the Chapter of *Aldermen*, I now declare, that you are especially, you are indispensably precluded from glancing at *that Quarter*, and that, *I am peremptorily against Aldermen, merely as Aldermen.*

But, *Farmer*, you may say, whence this Prejudice and Aversion? what Objection have you so pointed and particular to Aldermen?

NONE other, I answer, than to my Friends, or to my Kindred, to Those I most affect, to Those I most esteem

eſteem, ſhould they ſue for my Favour in the *Voice of Authority*; ſhould they apply for my Preference, while they are *veſted in my Rights*. My Exception to that *Board* is altogether *political*; it is not to their *private* but to their *public Merits*; I have nothing to object to them as *Men*, I have every thing to object as they are *Aldermen*.

Are they not *Aldermen* who are unduly ſeized of *Part* of your Property, and is it with *Aldermen* that you would depoſit the *Remainder* of what you hold? Are they not *Aldermen* who *refuſe* a juſt ſurrender of your Privileges, and is it *Aldermen* whom you would appoint to *ſolicit* the Reſtitution?

If I am in ſearch of a Steward, whom I would have attached to my Intereſts and faithful to my Truſts; ſhall I fix on that very Man for the *Guardianſhip* of my Poſſeſſions, who already unjuſtly *withholds* from me a Portion of my Eſtate? If I have occaſion for an Advocate to plead my Cauſe, ſhall I reject all others, to chooſe one from that Party againſt whom I propoſe to commence my Suit, ſhall I be ſedulous and careful to ſelect a Man engaged by his Intereſts to oppoſe or to betray me? Should I be ſo far a *Felo de ſe*, a *ſelf Deſtroyer*, the Event would reſt upon my own Head, and my Puniſhment would be as equitable, as it would be grievous and certain.

It may poſſibly be retorted upon me, that the very Man, who hath engaged to ſolicit your Rights againſt *Aldermen*, in *Parliament*, is himſelf of the *Board*.

True, my Brethren, a *Roſs* may be an *Alderman*, but every *Alderman* is not a *Roſs*, neither is *Roſs* a *Candidate*, I ſhould then have ſuſpected the Sincerity of

of his Professions. But your *Aldermen Candidates* give you no Room to suspect their Sincerity; they have made you no Professions of such Surrender or Solicitation; and I am persuaded that they are Gentlemen of too much Honour and Ingenuity, to give you a Colour for flattering yourselves with the Hopes of a Conduct, so opposite to their Interests, so wholly contrary to their Intentions.

A CANDIDATE was so called, from the *Whiteness* of that Robe, which every *Roman* was obliged to assume, who stood for a public Office. It was an *emblematical Promise* of that *Integrity* and *Purity*, with which he engaged to be invested during the Trust.---- But what *Robe*, O ye Citizens, is *this*, in which your *Candidates* demand your Confidence, and stand up for your Employments? Even the *Garment of your Properties*, and *the Investiture of your Rights*. They address you for *Honours*, while they are crimsoned in your *Injuries*. They apply for fresh *Favours*, while they are laden with your *Spoils*.

THAT Man, who votes for *such*, puts a new *Link* to his own *Chains*, a new *Rivet* to his own *Fetters*. He declares himself an *Abettor* of the *Wrong*, a *Confederate* in the *Pillage* of his Country; and wherefore, if not in Prospect of sharing the *Plunder*.

IN the Account which *Virgil* gives us of *Æneas*, the great Ancestor and Founder of the *Roman State*, when *Turnus* sued to that *Hero* for his Life; *Æneas* was greatly moved in favour of the Suppliant, till he observed him *invested with the Spoils of his Friend*.

The

The Lines are these,

——— Stetit acer in armis
Æneas, volvens oculos, dextramque repressit,
Et jam jamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
Cœperit, infelix humero cum apparuit alto
Balteus, & notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri: victum quem vulnere Turnus
Straverat, atque humeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
Ille oculis postquam sævi monumenta doloris,
Exuviasque hausit: furiis accensus, & ira
Terribilis: Tune hinc spoliis indute meorum,
Eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
Immolat, & poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.
Hoc dicens, ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
Fervidus.———

Which I thus take the Liberty to translate.

Stetit acer in armis Æneas, volvens oculos, dextramque repressit. The free Citizens of *Dublin* stood resolute and armed against all Kinds of Influence, they cast their Eyes on the *Aldermen Candidates*, and for a while were suspended in their Choice.———*Et jam jamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo cœperit.* And now more and more the good Services of the one when Lord Mayor, and the known Loyalty which the other inherited from his Ancestors, began to incline them in their Favour.———*Infœlix humero cum apparuit alto Balteus, et notis fulserunt cingula bullis Pallantis pueri.* When lo, the ravished Garb of *unhappy Liberty* shone eminent and distinguished on their Shoulders.——*Victum quem vulnere Turnus straverat, atque humeris inemicum insigne gerebat.* Whom

Whom the Predeceſſors of theſe Men had overthrown in a former Combat, and whoſe Spoil they had delivered down to be worn by their Poſterity.——*Ille oculis poſtquam ſævi monumenta doloris exuviaſque hauſit, furiis accenſus, et ira terribilis.* The Citizens, when they beheld this cruel Memorial of their pillaged Poſſeſſions and their deſolated Privileges, were kindled into Reſentment, and grew formidable in their Anger.——*Tune hinc Spoliis induite meorum eripiare mihi?* Shall you, they cry'd, exult in Trophies torn from our Anceſtors, and in the Enjoyment of Rights that ſhould deſcend to our Children? *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat, et pœnam ſcelerato ex ſanguine ſumit.* Our City gives you this Chaſtiſement, our Country ſends you this Diſgrace, and by us inflicts the Puniſhment that is due to your Depredations.——*Hoc dicens ferrum adverſo ſub pectore condit fervidus.* So ſaying, they lifted up their Voice in their Integrity, and pierced thoſe *Aldermen* to the Soul with the Diſhonour of a *Repulſe.*

The End of the FOURTH LETTER.

A

FIFTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A FIFTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My Countrymen,

ONCE upon a Time, the Sheep of a certain Place perceived, that, through the Cowardice of many, the Indolence of moſt, and the Want of Unanimity in the whole Flock, they were perpetually expoſed to Invaſions and Ravages. They therefore determined on the Election of ſome Creature for their Guardian, who by the Extent of his Knowledge ſhould be capable of their Intereſts, and by the Depth of his Integrity ſhould inſure their Confidence and Repoſe.

PROCLAMATION

PROCLAMATION was accordingly made, their Intention was publiſhed; and inſtantly, Creatures of all Species became urgent for this Office.

IT is wonderful and pleaſing to reflect, on this Occaſion, that, though no Matter of Profit was annexed to the Employment; yet, the ſeveral Pretenders ſollicited, they promiſed, they threatened, they bribed, they ſued to each Individual apart, they tried all Wiles to compaſs this barren Poſt: Such is the great Power of Virtue and Benevolence, ſo very common a Thing is diſintereſted Labour, ſo univerſal is Patriotiſm and a public Spirit.

AMONG many Animals, whoſe Pretenſions I ſhall, for the preſent, decline to mention; the *Wolf*, the *Fox*, and the *Maſtiff*, were admitted as Candidates; each flouriſhed at large on his proper Abilities, and with due Oratory ſet forth the peculiar Reaſons of his Claim.

MY Friends, ſaid the Maſtiff, I come before you this Day, not to requeſt a Favour; but to ſue for Acceptance, not to demand a Benefit, but to make a Tender of Service.

You are not to conſider, on this important Occaſion, what may be due out of Friendſhip, out of Gratitude, out of Partiality to any living. If any one among you is obliged or indebted, let him be grateful and juſt; but let him not diſcharge his private Incumbrances at the infinite Expence of public Damage.

IT is the Intereſt of *yourſelves* and not of your *Candidates*, the Advantage of the *Electors* and not of the *elected*,

elected, that ought, in any measure, to influence the Choice you are to make: For if Freedom and good Counsel shall guide your Determination, great will be the *Benefits* you provide for *your Flock*, *Toil and Care* will be the only Portion you confer on your *Guardian*.

Wherefore, if you know any, more capable, more active, more zealous for your Service, less attached to private Interest, more informed with a Love of public Welfare, than myself; it will be your Duty as well as your Policy to reject me: For wherefore should I be incumbered with personal Trouble, if the general Emolument may not thereby ensue?

How far I may be partial to my own Talents I know not; but, sure it is, that if I did not think myself equal, as I feel myself willing and warm to this Task; I should not have applied for so toilsome a Preference. It is in you alone to judge the Merits of your Candidates; and I trust your Judgment will be prudent; I know it ought to be free.

It is therefore, that I have not sollicited, I have not sued, I have made use of no private Influence, I have laid hold of no personal Friendship or Attachment, to obtain your Voices for the Employment to which I now pretend. The sole Advantage I look for, is to be thought worthy of your Confidence; the sole Honour, to be deemed capable of so superior a Burden.

It is in this Prospect alone, that I acknowlege I have an Ambition, an Eagerness, as I may say, for your Appointment to so glorious a Task. Why should such a Spirit be thought a Thing incredible? Every one is born with a certain Portion of Love, some with less, some with more, some with Affections

that

that are closeted and condensed, as it is the Lot and Delight of mine to be open and expanded.

NEITHER have these Affections been hitherto barren of Benefits to this Flock. Would you know what I would do, reflect on what I have done for you. Judge the Future by the past. Let your Expectation be built on Experience; and where I may be deficient in Self-commendation, let my Actions be my Orators, and let your Memory supply the Tongue that may be wanting in my Favour.

BEHOLD this Nakedness and this Poverty; I am neither cloathed with your Fleeces, nor fattened with the Flesh of your Lambs: In my Wants I have watched over you, and in my Hunger I have kept you from becoming a Prey.

OBSERVE your Walks and your Boundaries; I have searched out your ancient Limits; I have enquired into the Measure of your Folds; I have opened the Extent of your Pastures. I have asserted what you held; I have reclaimed what you have lost; some of your Bounds I have enlarged, and nothing is lapsed among you since I first attempted your Protection.

I HOPE my Services will not be considered as less affectionate for being voluntary, or as less disinterested for being done without Fee or Reward. If you shall judge it expedient to appoint me to higher Employments, if you are inclined to honour me with any Marks of your Confidence, I shall receive them as Incitements to encreasing Duty, I shall accept them as Obligations to a warmer Zeal. For I cannot become less diligent for being commissioned to Action, nor less faithful for being entrusted with your Wellfare and Repose.

HERE

HERE the *Maſtiff* ended, and the *Fox* roſe up.

GENTLE Flock, ſaid *Reynard*, liſten not to what that ſly Dog may pretend, neither ſuffer yourſelves to be duped by the Subtilty of his Inſinuations. We all know his Propenſity to Buſineſs and to Barking; and I aver that he hath effected ſome ſmall Service to our Fold. For I was never of an envious or malignin Nature. A generous Temper will give Praiſe even to the Appearance of Merit.

THE Gods grant that the Creature may be ſincere in what he hath done, and that it may not be a Pit, ſunk, for your deeper Perdition. He never offended me; I have no Objection to his Advancement; in any private Concern I ſhould wiſh well to the poor Animal. It is for your Sake alone that I am jealous, it is your Intereſt that makes me tremble.

Timeo Danaos et Dona ferentes. That is to ſay, a Politician will fear the Snake that may lye hid, under florid Show, and proferred Service. The Truth is, that I never liked theſe furious Friendſhips, this ſupererogating Zeal, this Frenzy of Patriotiſm; it is a Fermentation whoſe Subſtance boils over at the Top; the Bottom is all hollow and uneſſential.

WHAT Thunders will ſometimes ariſe from Vapour, what Attempts from Vanity! how are we alarmed at the Noiſe and Bluſter of the Elements, till we reflect that it is occaſioned, by nothing but Wind. I am confident that People of your good Underſtanding, will conſider Things deeper than their mere Shews and Appearances. Your Fleece is not your Fleſh, the outward Garment is not of a Piece with the

the Body it conceals, and the Veſſel ever differeth in Nature and in Subſtance from the Reality and Tendency of the Liquor that is contained therein. So differeth the Subſtance of this Maſtiff's Machinations, from the Garb that he hath aſſumed in order to diſguiſe them.

Truſt me, his Sentiments of Patriotiſm are very prettily expreſſed; fine Notes in Muſic, an airy Kind of Inhabitants, the elaborate Compoſition and Quinteſſence of Sound. But how, think you, will theſe delicate Entities, theſe Forms of the Imagination, withſtand the Froſt of Penury, or abide the Fire of Probation? Do ye find the Reality of their Exiſtence in yourſelves, is each of you ready to be ſacrificed for the Flock? if not, wherefore do ye credit the Profeſſion in another? can you be ſo ignorant as not to apprehend what the Strut and the Boaſt of ſuch Paraders muſt ſignify? and that He who walks ſo ſteadily and courageouſly to the Altar, can never intend Himſelf for the Oblation or the Victim.

I ADMIT that he has thruſt himſelf, buſily enough, into your Concerns; I allow that his Actions carry ſome Merit toward you, whatever may be the Motive that lurketh beneath. But, had he any other Method to effect your Ruin? Small Services are political Ladders, the very Steps to intended Miſchief. A Perſon muſt firſt gain your Commiſſion and your Confidence, before he can poſſibly be enabled to betray you.

YOU are not now to be informed, my dear and tender Brethren, of the natural Fierceneſs and dire Bent of this Animal. That he hath hitherto reſtrained his Propenſity to Violence among you, ſhews as amazing a Check of Temper, as Profoundneſs of Stratagem.

tagem. His bridled Wrath and his Rapaciousness are layed up for you in Store. Can any innocent Passenger travel the Road, without being disturbed or terrified by his perpetual grumble? Beware of the Teeth that are now so often shewn in your favour. The Day will come that may find them a different Employment; when he shall turn them to the worrying of that very Flock, whom thus uncalled, thus uncommissioned, he takes upon him to defend.

I MAY aver that such Depredations will be pardonable in him; for were his Nature wholly free from that Malice and Treachery which may fearfully be imputed to the whole Tenor of his Conduct; yet his Poverty must subject him to irresistable Assaults, for who can patiently endure under perpetual Goadings, the Keenness of Hunger and the Ravenings of Want?

THE Gods be praised, my gentle Brothers, this is not the Situation of all your Candidates. There are some of us who have Wealth superfluous to our own Occasions, wherewith to enrich our Minions and to gratify our Favourites. I have my Poultry Yards, and my clovered Pastures whereof I never taste, to regale a visiting Sheep, or any Friend of the Flock.

WERE I of a ravenous Nature, yet the Temptation would be taken away. The Rich can have no Appetites that are not already satiated; all my Wishes and Desires are fulfilled from my own Stores.

CAN you then hesitate a Moment on whom you should fix your Choice? on the Person who is prompted by his Abundance to supply and oblige you; or on the Person who is goaded by his Penury to seek your Damage? on him who wants for nothing but an Opportunity to serve you; or on him who

hath no Means of ſerving himſelf, but by taking your Wool for his Covering, and your Fleſh for his Prey.

Here the Fox was ſeated, and the Wolf aroſe.

Conscious Grandeur and Dignity were apparent in his Mien; and he wore the fineſt Fleece conſpicuous on his Shoulders, which in ſome Meaſure he had diſguiſed from the Obſervation of the Flock, by a little Tincture of Purple and the Art of the Loom.

He ſpoke, and ſmiled ſuperior.

My very honeſt and innocent Neighbours——On Solemnities of this Nature, there is, no doubt, a kind of Ceremony and Form to be obſerved; for though no one can ſuppoſe you ſo ignorant of your Duty, as not previouſly to know where your Election muſt light; yet Appearances ſhould be regarded, a kind of Pretenſion to ſomething called *Choice*, or *Liberty*; which, for aught I know, might formerly have had ſome *Meaning* in your Conſtitution.

When the Great condeſcend to aſk, and the Mighty put in their Claim; I cannot choose but ſmile at the amazing Inſolence of puny Competitors. In your Nomination of me, you can confer no Honours; yours alone will be the Glory and the Advantage of ſuch an Election. Power is the natural Ally of Weakneſs, and who ſhall dare to Appeal againſt the Plea of Authority?

In reſpect to the Pretenſions of my Puppy Rival yonder, our Couſin *Reynard* hath ſpoke with his accuſtomed Wiſdom, and therein hath ſaved me a Trouble I am well enough pleaſed to avoid; ſince I could never boaſt much of your Patriot Appetites for

Fatigue.

Fatigue. Yet, my Neighbours, you may hold it prudent to treasure this further Hint in your Memory ———that whoever shews himself the Abettor or Favourer of that same Snarler, declares himself an Enemy to all the Beasts in the Forest.

To what an everlasting Grumble the Wretch is stirred up, by his secret Repinings and Envyings at his unregarding Superiors. How speedily we could crush him and all his Adherents to nothing. Let him not be alarmed however; he is safe in his Meanness, his Protection is ensured by our Contempt.———But a very little of this may be too much, upon a Subject so infinitely beneath our Notice.

In regard to myself, and with respect to that indefeasible Claim which I hold to this Election, it is too evident, to admit the Possibility of a Controversion, in the Dignity of my own Person, and in the Power of my Alliances. Large are the Domains in which I range, neither have the Fences of others been hitherto able to set a Limit to my Walks. I am further strengthened by the Force of many Friends, and by my Kindred among all the Brutes that are of any Nobility,

I shall not give you or myself much Trouble upon this Subject, Rhetoric may have its Use where there is Occasion to persuade. In your Election of a Person, such as I am, deputed under the due Influence and Fangs of Authority, you will do well to crouch in Safety beneath so broad a Protection. But were it possible for you to decline this Tender of our Guardianship: We shall be apt to interpret your Refusal into an open Declaration of Hostilities; and when the Forests begin to howl, and my Brethren of the Mountains descend, who then shall be able to wrest you from the Keenness of our Resentment?

The

The Wolf closed his Harangue, a long Murmur ensued; when at length a Ram stept forth from the Midst of the Flock; and after a modest Pause addressed the Assembly as follows.

My dear Kindred and dearer Friends——I am, as you see, a Native of this Fold, simple therefore in my Speech, but very honest in my Intention. I hope then that you will excuse the Absence of the Orator, and take up with Expressions of a downright and honest Heart.

As I imagine we are come together, not in the Way of Joke, but seriously to consult on the Welfare of our Flock; I shall give you my Thoughts with as much Freedom as good Will.

I will first remark to you, that since it is our own Good alone which is the Thing to be considered in our Choice of a Guardian; we ought not to wait, till a Kind of People called *Candidates* bespeak us for themselves. If we are to choose for ourselves, we ought also to search for ourselves; each of us should have looked abroad; we should have examined into Actions, Characters, and their Causes; we should have made a thorough Inquiry into Merit; and have delivered a faithful Return of our several Discoveries to the Fold, that so by the joint Consent of all our Brethren, the worthiest might be picked out from among the Worthy.

The first Advantage, that would arise from this Method, would be, in its giving us a greater Scope for Election. We should not then be confined to five or to fifty Candidates. We would have the World from whence we might cull at leisure and at large; and

and if we did not fix on a Guardian fit for our Purpose, the Fault would lie in our Want of Discernment, and not in the Scarcity of Virtue.

A SECOND great Advantage would arise from this Method, in making our Election wholly free, and independent of any kind of Influence whatever; since we would then choose by our own Will, and by our own Judgment; without regard to Offers, Addresses, Recommendations, or Authorities. We would then, as it were, search for the Liquor we liked, without having it pressed and compelled to our Lips.

A THIRD grand Advantage would arise from this Method, in the extraordinary Obligation we should lay on our *Guardian*. He would not then be his own *Offerer*; he would be our *Elect* alone. We would not pay him the trifling Compliment, of preferring him to a Few, perhaps of little Merit; we would distinguish him by our Choice from among all living Creatures. Such a Preference would bind him tenfold to our Persons, and to our Interests. The Guards of Honour and Gratitude would be doubled upon his Fidelity; and the Cry of Shame and Reproach would be doubled upon his Treason.

IF in Modesty he should happen to decline this special Honour, it would then be our Business to entreat, and by our Caresses *to compell him to come in*. But if the Necessity of his private Affairs, or his private Indigence were any Obstacle; it would be our public Interest to allot him an Equivalent for his Damage, and a Reward for his Toil: So should he be bound to us in the twofold Trust of a commissioned Guardian, and of a hired Servant; and we should take away from him all kind of Pretence, for defraying his private Cost at the Expence of public Liberty.

THESE,

THESE, my beloved Brothers, are Hints and Advices, which you may think good to apply, or improve upon future Occasions. But for the present we must attend, where we are more immediately called.

Then turning to the Wolf, he thus continued——

To you, my Lord, I first address myself, as to the Person of greatest Dignity, and who ought therefore to have a Right to the greatest Respect.

I OBSERVE, that your Lordship hath declared, with much Frankness, that we have nothing but the mere Form of Liberty left among us, and this, you say, ought to be preserved.

BUT, my Lord, can the Appearance of any Thing be better than its Reality? if the very Shadow of Liberty is valuable, how much more the Substance! and since you have made us sensible that it is a Good which we have lost, what shall hinder us from endeavouring to recover the Blessing?

BEFORE I speak to your Objections against others of our Candidates; I think it first my Duty to take Notice of your Lordship's superior Claim. The Honour, which you say we should confer upon ourselves, in the Election of your Lordship, I acknowledge is great; but the Advantage we should receive thereby, is not altogether so apparent: For though *Power*, as you well observe, is the strongest *Ally of Weakness*, I doubt it might prove the strongest *Enemy* also; and might still be rendered more capable of our *Damage* and *Destruction*, by being received into our *Trust*, and into our *Bosoms*.

THERE

THERE is no Doubt but that your Lordſhip, ſo powerfully ſupported by your noble Kindred and Alliances, would be well able to defend us from all other Aſſailants. But in caſe you ſhould at any Time ſeek Occaſion of Offence; who then would *defend* us againſt the Power of our *Guardians?* who could *preſerve* us from ſuch *Preſervers?*

IT is therefore, with much Regret, that I, who am really under private Obligations to my Superiors in the Foreſt, find myſelf thus ſingled out, in Behalf of this Flock, to give your Lordſhip the Mortification of a Refuſal. To acquaint you, that if your Threats mean any Thing further, than to terrify us into your Meaſures; we chooſe rather all to periſh in one Effort for virtuous Liberty, than to beget a Generation of Victims, and to breed up our Lambs merely for the Tuſk and the Talon.

To acquaint you, notwithſtanding, that we are very far from intending or tempting any Kind of Hoſtilities. But, whatever that Authority may be by which your Lordſhip is recommended; we ſhould juſtly be accounted the moſt daſtardly of all Sheep, ſhould we admit you for our Guardian while you are cloathed in our Spoils, while you inſult that very Flock, whom you addreſs for Favours, with the Proſpect of a Fleece upon your Shoulders.

To you next, Mr. *Reynard*, I think good to pay my Reſpects; and I do aſſure you in the Name of all my Fraternity, that we are thoroughly convinced of your great Talents and Underſtanding, and that there is no Perſon breathing whom we would prefer to your Worſhip, were we equally convinced of the Greatneſs of your Integrity; for Capacity is alike applicable

Queſtion of his Veracity: All our Doubt is, in reſpect of the Means by which he came by them. His generous Offers of a Share thereof to the Individuals of this Flock, are, I own, very tempting. But ſhould we be ſuch Traytors, as to admit the Conſideration of private Intereſt, when the Welfare of the Public is alone in Debate; who ſhall aſſure us, that, on our making a Viſit to his Worſhip, inſtead of being *cloathed*, we may not return *ſhorn*; that, inſtead of bringing back the *Reward of our Treachery*, we may not happen to *leave a Fleece behind?*

It is a ſhrewd and ancient Proverb, that, *when the Family of Foxes grows rich and proſperous, the Sheep may juſtly reckon upon Loſs and Damage.*

Here ends the Fable—the Application follows.

The End of the FIFTH LETTER.

A

SIXTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A SIXTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

THE foregoing Fable, though now particularly addressed, to You, my much loved and respected Brothers, is equally applicable at all times, to any People, on a like Occasion.

I SEEK not, under Characters or Representations of any kind, to couch my Partiality to one Man, or Prejudice to another. So may I prosper in my private Concerns, as it is the general Welfare which I seek by these Addresses; as I seek to establish your Prosperity in *Truth* alone, in *Truth* as impartially advantageous to You, as it is in itself eternally unalterable.

It is not merely by the Powers of Oratory and warm Professions, but by a Conduct, ever conformable to the Principles of Virtue, that I wish any Man may gain either your Credit or Esteem. The highest Proof and Attestation that you can give of your own Worth, is to give your Voice and your Approbation to Worth alone; for we never grant our Regard or our Affection to Others, but on Account of what we regard and affect in Ourselves.

It is not, therefore, a sufficient Ground or Foundation for your Favour, that you hear a Man cry aloud, for *Liberty! Loyalty! Patriotism! Public Weal!* They are Terms that have been often used with great Latitude and incertain Tendency; in the Mouths of Many, they mean something very different from their just and natural Signification; and I shall come to demonstrate to You, my dear Countrymen, that no People was ever *Great*, but as they were *Good* alone; that no Nation can be *free*, but so far as they are *Virtuous*.

But, as *these great and beneficent Truths* would demand a large Compass to be duly unfolded, and that the approaching Election presseth You to a speedy Determination; I can, for the present, barely sketch what I intend for a regular Draught. I have not time to draw out the full Map of your Conduct, and must content myself with setting up a few Beacons and Land-marks, that may in some Measure serve to warn You from the neighbouring Quick-sands, and assist You in reaching that Port of Safety and Happiness, whereto it shall be the Study of my Life to steer You.

WHATEVER extravagant or unsettled Notions some People may form to themselves of *Liberty*; whatever Opinions some Others may entertain of

its

its Non-existence, or that it is at best but a Matter o Invention and Policy, equally used by State-Craftsmen to hold a Party together, as by grasping Adventurers to excite Faction and Mob: I will shew You by a simple and quiet Demonstration, its plain Nature and Tendency, its Reality and Advantage.

Suppose, that in *Ireland* there were at this time no kind of political Establishment; but that we lived independently, though honestly, together; in the State that some Philosophers have called *the State of Nature*, or that the Poets have pictured for *the golden Age*.

In this Case, every Man of Us would be personally and separately possessed of all the Rights and Powers that were given to Us by Nature; our own *Reason* would be our *Law*, our own *Conscience* would be our *Governor*; and if Each had Virtue enough, to refrain from the Invasion of his Neighbours, Each in consequence would have Strength enough to retain his proper Privileges; Each would then permit to Others what he enjoyed to himself; and every Man, in the undisturbed Possession of his own Property, and in the rational and conscientious Direction of his own Conduct, would enjoy the Perfection of natural Liberty.

In such Circumstances, I may hope, there are but few who will assert, that *natural Liberty* would not be *real*, that it would not also be *beneficial*: He alone can dispute this, who shall avow that he prefers *Dispossession* to *Property*, *Injury*, to *Right*, and *Compulsion* to the inborn Dictates of *Reason* and of *Truth*.

It is proved, then, that *natural Liberty*, in a natural State, would be both real and valuable: Let us now proceed to try, whether *political Liberty*, in a political State, is not equally essential and equally advantageous.

Suppo

SUPPOSE, that while we continued in this State of upright Nature, we ſhould be threatened with ſome foreign Invaſion; or that a Number of our Countrymen, degenerating from theſe the Principles of Reaſon and of Conſcience, had combined together, with a View to pillage and enſlave the reſt.

ON this Occaſion, every Individual muſt be conſcious, that he could not be able in this his ſeparate State, to withſtand the collected Force of Numbers. A Confederacy, therefore, on one Side to *aſſault*, would naturally produce a Confederacy on the other Side to *defend*; an Aſſociation on one Part, for the *Deſtruction* of Liberty, muſt neceſſarily impell to an Aſſociation on the other, for the *Support* thereof.

AND here, it is no way pertinent, for Us to inquire what thoſe Links might be, by which the Aſſociation againſt our Country would be bound, by which any League for evil Ends would be held together: For, though ſome kind of Government is requiſite to form even a Company of Banditti; yet a Connection for Purpoſes, in their Nature indiſpoſed, can never preſerve a firm or laſting Union.

OUR Buſineſs, therefore, is alone to diſcover the Nature and Tendency of that Aſſociation, which on this Occaſion ſhould be duly formed, for the Defence of natural Right, and the Preſervation of natural Liberty.

To diſcover this, it is requiſite in the firſt place to conſider, that, as no one Man could pretend a Privilege of dictating to the Reſt the Manner or Meaſure of this Aſſociation, a Conſultation would therefore be neceſſary; and in this Conſultation, every Man would be equally free, though not equally prudent, to give his Voice and Advice for the Good of the Whole.

BUT,

But, as Experience muſt ſpeedily demonſtrate, that ſuch an Infinity of Counſellors could only create Confuſion; They would thereupon find it equally neceſſary and expedient, that, out of ſeveral aſcertained Numbers or Neighboorhoods of Men, each Number or Neighbourhood, by a Plurality of free Voices, ſhould elect him whom they judged to be the wiſeſt of that Number, to perſonate his Conſtituents in ſuch grand Conſultation, and repreſent the Wiſdom of Thoſe who choſe him.

Thus, as each Counſellor would be no other than the Aggregate or Sum total of his Electors, a Collection of their ſeveral Powers, an Utterer of their ſeveral Voices; the whole Council together would form one great Mirror, or rather Epitome, that would take in and contain every Individual throughout the Nation, with their ſeveral Intereſts and ſeveral Powers, thus contracted to avoid Confuſion, thus condenſed for the greater Force: As Water, weakly diffuſed and ſtagnating on a wide Extent of Land, grows ſtrong, clear, freſh, and active, when reduced and directed in a regular Channel.

Wherefore, as this great Council would repreſent or be collective of every Individual in the *Nation*; they could not poſſibly ſo repreſent or be collective of the ſame, for any Purpoſes, other than thoſe which were *National*; and ſhould they at any time abuſe or pervert thoſe Purpoſes, they would no longer repreſent the Nation who had choſe them; they would rather repreſent the Banditti or Invaders againſt whom they were elected; they themſelves would commence a State of War with their Country, and would thereby reſtore their Electors to their original *State of Nature*, and in that State, to the Capacity of a new *political Election*.

Now,

Now, in order to know what those *national Purposes* or *Laws* of the *Elected* should be; it will be sufficient to inquire what the *particular Purposes* or *Reasons* of the *Electors* were, in choosing such an associated or national Council.

THE Question once asked, the Answer is self-evident. The Individuals were *attacked*, they wished to be *defended*; their natural Liberty was *invaded*, they desired it should be *secured*. These Benefits could not be attained in the *separate State of Nature*, they were therefore compelled to seek them in the *connected State of Society*. To form such a State, Wisdom and Consultation were necessary; but all could not sit and advise together. Each therefore separately chose who should associate as his Adviser, who should speak with his Voice, who should act for his Interests. The separate Bodies of the *Electors* were thus united in their *Elect*, the *Elect* were again united in one *embodied Council*. Thus from *Individuals* arose *Society*; from the *private* State the *Public*. The whole People formed Laws for themselves, the Nation sat consulting together. To what Purpose, can it be asked? —— to the Purpose for which they confederated; for the Defence of those natural Rights, for the Assurance of those natural Liberties, that could not be so well ascertained in the natural State.

HERE, perhaps, it may be objected that there never was such a State of Nature.——I answer, that there may be many such even now upon Earth; that, if the Form of our Government were at any time dissolved, we should that Instant be restored to such a State of Nature, though possibly not altogether so innocent and upright; and that every Man liv-
is, at this Hour, in such a State of natural
m, who is not subdued by Guilt from
within,

within, or Tyranny from without; forasmuch as I shall shew, that the Members of a free Society, have not thereby *forfeited* any of their *natural Powers*, which they have only so far entrusted to *good Government*, as ought rather to *advance*, *enlarge*, and *assure* them.

GOD ALMIGHTY hath indued every Man with Strength, Reason, and Conscience; with *Strength* to *assert* his Property, with *Reason* to *direct* his Pursuits, and with *Conscience* to *controul* his Appetites. Man hath thereby an undoubted *Right* to *preserve* what is his own, while he is also *checked* in *attempting* on that which is another's; and therein consists his *natural Liberty*, which is no other than *natural Rectitude*.

BUT, as some have degenerated from this their natural Rectitude, when these passed the Barrier of Reason and of Conscience; others, who suffered by such Encroachment, found themselves under the Necessity, of providing new Limits, and of strengthening that Inclosure, by which every one should be barred from Intrusion on another. For, if such Licence was permitted to any, the same would be a Licence to All, and where All would encroach, All would likewise be encroached upon; and, thence, Property and Freedom would cease throughout the World.

WHEREFORE, in order to guard against the Invasion of Some, Others have been induced to associate together; and whatever the Forms of those Associations might be, however such Constitutions might differ in their Model, their End and their Purpose must ever have been the same; that is, to strengthen the Weakness of *separate Nature* by *political Connection*, to oppose *private Encroachments* by *public Fences*, and to assure *natural Rights* by *political Appointments*.

WHEREVER Society deviates from those the Purposes thereof, there Government becomes the *Evil* that it was intended to *remedy*, the Links by which such *Government* was *connected* are by such *Mis-government dissolved*, every Member is *discharged* from his *Allegiance* thereto, and it is not by the Authority of *Right*, but by the Authority of *Force* alone, that they can any longer be held to *Obedience*.

WHATEVER may be the Constitution of any national Society, whatever may be the Manner by which any Member hath been incorporated thereto, there are only two *Bonds* that can hold him to a *Conformity*, *Force* or *Right*, *Compulsion* or *Duty*. For, as GOD hath endowed Man with several natural Gifts and Privileges, his own Surrender of any of them, can alone be consistent with his Liberty; whoever attempts to deprive him is guilty of tyrannic Force, and, this, GOD, in giving him the Privileges, gives him a Right to resist.

IF, therefore, the Members of any national Society, have, either by Assent or Consent, as far as in them lies, surrendered their *natural* Powers to the *political Community*; such Surrender cannot be *absolute*, but *conditional*, not in *Gift*, but in *Trust*. Each Individual makes such a Community stronger by his Strength, richer by his Property, wiser by his Understanding, better by his Virtue: But wherefore?—Not surely to be himself deprived and destitute; not to be *weakened*, but *enforced*, not to be *impoverished* but *enriched*, not to be *controuled* by *Will* but *directed* by *Wisdom*, not to have his natural Liberty *abridged* or *annulled* but *extended* and *assured*; and in the Attainment of these great Ends to each Individual, consists the only Good of Government, the true Nature of *political Liberty* which is no other than *political Rectitude*.

HENCE,

HENCE, it is not only demonstrable, but already evident, that, as Society is the gathering or Combination of several Men for the mutual Benefit and Support of each other; so *public Liberty* is no other, than the gathering of several *natural Liberties* together, whereby those Liberties, without changing their Nature, or alienating their Rights, may be more firmly assured by being so united.

ON this Occasion, it may be asked, that, if natural Liberty is not changed or alienated by Society; what then is the Appearance under which it is continued? what are the Terms, by whose Signification it is yet retained?

I answer, that all the Powers and Privileges of natural Liberty may be perceived by an Eye of very common Discernment, in the Liberty that appears to be meerly political. The *private Reason* of every Man or free Member of Society is continued in the *Legislature* or *public Direction*; the *private Conscience* of every Man in the *public Controul* or *Magistracy*; and the *private Strength* of every Man in the *executive Authority*: For, wherever these several Powers or Privileges may be deposited, if they are freely deposited there by the Consent of the Individuals, they cannot possibly be so deposited but with the Prospect of Usury, or at least of grateful and equal Returns; of *private Reason* sublimed into *publick Law*, of *private Conscience* operating in *public Controul*, and of *private Strength* collected under *public Appointments*.

FROM all these concurring Reasons, and apparent Proofs, we infer, that *Freedom* in the *natural State* is a Latitude of acting within the Limits that *Conscience* shall prescribe agreeable to *Reason*; and, that *Freedom* in the *social State* is a Latitude of acting within the Limits that *Magistracy* shall prescribe agreeable to *Law*——Provided, however, that such *Law*

is no other than *publick Reason*, *Institutions* by which the People have *consented* to be governed.

WHEREFORE, as any *political Constitution* of Men in the *Aggregate*, is only so far free, as it resembles and sums the *natural Constitution* of Men in the *Individual*, where every One, agreeable to his own Reason is ruled by his own Conscience: So, the political Body of any People, is rightly accounted *considerable* or *impotent*, *free* or *inslaved*, in Proportion, as they have, or have not an Influence, in the Election of *Legislators* by whom they are to be *directed*, and the Appointment of *Magistrates* by whom they are to be *controuled*; for, where a People give their *own Voice* to the Measure of their *own Conduct*; there, and there alone is the *Perfection of publick Liberty*——. Provided, however, that such Voice is uttered by *unbyassed Reason* and *good Conscience*, that it is no other than the Voice of *Wisdom* and *Virtue*.

To publish the above *Truths*, would be accounted *Treason* and *Rebellion* throughout most of the Dominions now established upon Earth; but to Us, my Countrymen, they are Matters of *Peace*, of *Unity*, and *Rejoicing*.

As I have now declared and demonstrated the Nature of *Liberty*, whether *personal* or *public*, *natural* or *political*, I will next proceed to consider by what means it may be lost, and will lastly shew you the Duty that is incumbent upon you to retain it.

THE Means by which you may lose your Liberty are threefold, first by others, secondly by yourselves, and thirdly by others and yourselves cooperating.

FIRST, by Others, whether they be Foreigners or Inmates, whether they should invade you with Fleets from abroad, or standing Armies, *&c.* at home; and if you should want either the Power or the Will to resist

resist such Violence, if you should not then be able to retain your Liberty, or thereafter to recover it ——— I know no Remedy.

SECONDLY, by Yourselves, as, if hereafter there should arise factious Orators among you, who, like those of *Athens*, of *Rome*, of *England*, and elsewhere, should persuade you, that the Liberty of the People, did not consist in their *Appointment of Magistrates*, but their *Resumption of Powers*; not in their *Consent to Law*, but their *Sharing of Authority*. What Horrors, what Massacres, what a Carnage of divine Patriots, what Overthrows of Constitutions long laboured and erected in Wisdom and Virtue, hath such popular Frenzy and Distraction effected! But, remember and mark well, my beloved Countrymen, that, in all such Instances, the People were the Victims of their own Folly; that *Oppression* ever attended their grasping at Power; and that *Slavery* is the inevitable Offspring of *Licentiousness*.

THIRDLY, you may lose your Liberty, by insensibly co-operating to that Effect with Others, as, where no Violence should be used from abroad, or at home, by the People or their Potentates; but where Appetite should gradually insinuate among you, and Luxury should secretly sap; where your *own Vice* would be the Hand by which State Policy would take you, and lead you, a willing Sacrifice, to your *own Perdition*.

THIS indeed would be the most dangerous and the most irretrievable Lapse. The great Tree of Liberty would here be hewed at the Root, her Building would be sapped at the deepest Foundation. For, as *political Liberty* is proved to be constituted of that alone which is *natural*; and as *natural Liberty* is proved to be no other than the Province of *natural Virtue*, where this is forfeited or encroached upon, adieu to the Whole! there can be

be no Composition without Materials, and a Constitution or Body of *public Freemen*, can never consist of *private Slaves*.

The Consideration of this last and most dangerous Foe to Liberty, that inborn Vulture Vice, which preys on the Intestines, and drinks up the Vitals thereof, naturally leads me to the Application of the Fable in my last Letter.

I have before observed to you, that the Constitution of this Kingdom is free, in a Manner, and by Appointments, highly superior to any that *Rome* or *Greece* could ever boast. That we ourselves sit in the *Senate* or *Parliament* of this Nation by our Election of such Persons as we request to represent us there. That we choose to think with their Heads, to speak with their Voices, and therefore in them dictate and institute those Laws, whereby we ourselves desire to be governed.

The Powers that this whole Kingdom diffusively contains are thus summed and collected in this august Assembly of our Representatives: They make Laws and they repeal, they loose and they bind. They are a *Leviathan* whose Motion affects the furthest Shores of Posterity; and we and our Children must be *wretched* and *oppressed*, or *free* and *happy*, in Proportion as we choose those who are *weak* and *corrupt*, or *wise* and *honest*.

No Property therefore can be of equal Importance, no Trust of equal Sanction and Extent with that of the Voter; it is the *Hinge* on which all your Advantages turn, the very *Hand* by which you hold whatever You possess; and I introduced the foregoing Fable, in order to warn You on the ensuing Election, against the *Constraint* of *Power* and *Allurement* of *Policy*; that by knowing the *By-Paths* which would

would lead you to *Error*, you may be under no Doubt of the *Way you ought to walk in.*

All that can influence You to a wrong Election, is *Power* that may *over-rule* You, or *Policy*, that may *over-reach* You. It is the Province of the *One* to *terrify*, of the *Other* to *seduce*. The One would set Authority in Array against You, that You might fear, or think it vain to attempt an Opposition: The Other would lay hold on your own Appetites and Vices, in order to induce You to betray your own Interests.

The *Wolf* in the Fable, personates this *Power*; and the *Fox* in the Fable personates this *Policy*. They Both malign the *Mastiff* who personates *Fidelity*; for they judge with due Forecast, that, if by any means they might inspire You with a Suspicion of your Friends, if they might but once detach you from Those who *defend*, your Fold must lye open to their own *Invasion*.

But, as *Facts* form the only Rule by which we can judge of *Professions*; If from frequent Experience and a grateful Recollection, You can discover, in the Conduct of some of your Candidates, the Labours, the Sufferings, the Watchfulness, and Attachment, of this long tried and faithful Mastiff, I know no better Assurance of *future Services* than the Earnest of *Benefits already received.*

The Demonstration of the infinite Importance of your Liberty, and of that Duty which is incumbent on every Man of you to retain it, shall form the Subject of my ensuing Letter.

F I N I S.

A

SEVENTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

A SEVENTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My Friends and Brothers,

AS I moſt heartily wiſh you to be a happy People, it is the preſent Bent of my Labours, as it ſhall be of my future Studies, to contribute all I can to that deſirable End.

WERE it my Opinion that your Happineſs conſiſted in the Abundance of the Things You poſſeſs, that your Enjoyments would increaſe in proportion to your Acquiſitions, and that *Riches* were any ſolid Foundation for Content; I would firſt have opened the Mines of *Agriculture*, and have endeavoured to widen the Chanels of your *Trade*.

BUT as I am firmly perſuaded of the Reverſe of all this. As I apprehend that the Poſſeſſions of many among us have already debauched and made miſerable their Proprietors. That ſuch Examples have ſpread their Contagion abroad. That *Affluence* propagates *Luxury*, Luxury *Immorality*, and Immorality the Seeds of *Slavery* throughout my Country. I would ſooner ſteer you *eaſtward*, while your Port lay *Weſt*, than lead you to the Danger and Temptation of Riches; till you are firſt duly informed, and wiſely determined on ſuch a Uſe and Application thereof, as can alone derive any Benefit or Advantage to the Poſſeſſor.

WEALTH, my dear Friends, is as a Cup of Liquor whoſe Quality would conform to the Conſtitution of him who drinks it; It carries Health, Strength, and Nouriſhment to the Lips of Temperance and Virtue; but utter Poiſon to an Appetite that is thirſty and inflamed. The good Things of Life are good to Thoſe who are good alone; the Evil convert them into their own Nature and Quality. Nothing can be *valuable* but ſo far as it is *uſeful*; the *Abuſe* therefore of *Riches* muſt make their Owners *poor* indeed.

In Juſtice and in Truth, I might proceed much further. I might ſhew you, that, however Wealth, and Power, and Conſideration, may ſerve to illuſtrate the *Virtue* of their Proprietor; they were never yet the Fountain or the Occaſion *thereof*. That, ſince the World begun, the *Soul* of Man, which is *Himſelf*, hath neither been made *temperate* by *Affluence*, *kind* by *Authority*, nor *humble* by *Honours*. That ſuch Acquiſitions in their Nature rather tend, to *deduct*, than to *add* real Value to their Owner. That they are a Weight which cannot be *ſupported* but by an equal *Strength* of Mind; and that, though the *Structure* of *Wealth*, and *Power*, and *Conſideration*, may contain many Elegancies and Conveniences in the Apartments, unleſs they are deeply and ſtrongly pillar'd on *Virtue*, they muſt entomb under their Ruins all Thoſe who dwell within.

If *Wealth* therefore is not the *One Thing needful*, whatever the Practice and Purſuits of Mankind may aſſert. If univerſal Hiſtory, Experience, and Obſervation, prove that Riches have a Tendency, to corrupt, enſlave and ruin whole Nations as well as Men. If thoſe Commonwealths, who are allowed to have been the happieſt, the greateſt, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed upon Earth, were yet eſtabliſhed upon the *Principles* of *Poverty* and *Temperance*. If they *ſubſiſted* no longer than while they adhered to thoſe *Principles*; and that *Riches* introduced a *Diſſolution of Manners*, and a Diſſolution of their Manners a Diſſolution of the State. There is ſomething further requiſite, beyond a *wealthy Dependence* (whatever your *Time-ſerving Preachers* may inſinuate) to build up a Proſperity that can poſſibly endure; to make

you

you a People worthy, or even susceptible of *Happiness*.

I LOOK for no temporal Preferment by these my Labours; it is enough that your Interest calls upon me; for that I quit Concerns that are more personal, though less dear; and neither Fears, nor Hopes, nor Prospects, nor Prohibitions, shall ever shut my Mouth on a Word that may be uttered to your Advantage: Much less shall any Influence be able to prevail with me, to publish a single Expression pernicious to my Country, a Sentiment that will not equally and in all Places stand the light-armed and despised Assaults of Raillery, as well as the Test of Reason and Inquisition of Time.

IN my private Concerns, Indiscretion, Extravagance, Rashness, Folly are often imputed to me: Dishonesty, Insincerity, Malevolence.———Never. In my public Concerns, I have, in Turns, provoked and pleased all Parties; because all Parties, in their Turns, are for and against Truth. But, who can stand up, and say? That I have at any time deviated from what I was at the Beginning; or that any Two of my Sentiments or Assertions have ever clashed? No Favour, no Interest hath tempted me to the Right or to the Left. I have but one Road to travel, and that leads but to one View; to the Good, to the Happiness of my beloved Country! and O, that I could expand that View——— to the Happiness of Mankind!

I SPEAK not this in the Spirit of Vanity, or to catch the passing Breath of a popular Acclamation. I know how weak the human Heart is to the [illegible]s of Honours; and therefore pray to deserve

serve, but never to acquire them. But I speak this as a Challenge directed to all my *Enemies*, to those *Masters* of the *scurrilous Science of Offence*, who yet are *Strangers to Argument*, and *Aliens to Truth*. I speak it for your own Sakes, that I may have Credit among you; that in a Matter of the last Consequence to yourselves and to your Posterity, You may know that I cannot have any Prospect in betraying you, not the smallest or most distant Intention to deceive.

PARDON therefore a few Sentences that were otherwise impertinent; that, in order to introduce a Concern of the utmost Importance, I have detain'd you on a Subject so inconsiderable, as myself.

THIS Concern, of the last Consequence, of the utmost Importance to You, is no less than the WHOLE of what you are or can be worth. It is your HAPPINESS, my Brethren, however it may be considered, as *natural*, *civil*, *political*, *temporal*, or *eternal*. However various, and even opposite, the *Objects* of our *Pursuits* may be; HAPPINESS is the only *Game* intended by the *Chase*. It is not therefore the chief, it is the single Consideration that ought to claim your Attention; and I lay it down as a Position, for I shall prove it incontestably, that both *here* and *hereafter*, in *Heaven* and on *Earth*, LIBERTY is to HAPPINESS as the *Bones* are to the *Body*, the only *Support* on which the Whole is *built*; or as *Life* is to Thought, Action, and all the other Faculties, the *Source* from whence they arise, and without which they cannot subsist.

To

To let you know what LIBERTY is, and wherein it consists; lest when some *cry it is here*, You should be influenced to listen, or when others *cry it is yonder*, You should be tempted to attend; was the Purpose, as I hope it will be the Effect, of my last Letter. But as the Proofs, then necessary to obviate future Cavils and Assaults, led me into a Train of Argument not perceivable at one View; I will here give you a short Sum of the several Inferences; a plain System of the Truths independent of their Demonstrations.

PERFECT LIBETY *is the Privilege of a voluntary Conduct directed by Wisdom and limited by Duty.*

IN *Nature* it is the Co-operation of *Will*, right *Reason*, and good Conscience—in *Policy*, of *Consent*, prudent *Law*, and just *Magistracy*; and in Proportion as Any or All of These are deficient, in such Proportion is Liberty depraved, or wholly lost.

IF *one Man* is subdued to the Appointments of another, though such Appointments should never deviate from *right Reason* or *good Conscience*, the *Will* is yet wanting to *natural Freedom*——If a *Constitution* of Men should be governed by *wise Laws* and *just Magistrates*; if those Laws should yet be formed, and those Magistrates preferred, without the Concurrence or Agreement of the Populace; *Consent* is then wanting to *social Liberty*.

THE

THE next Step to *natural Slavery*, is, where a *Man* is subdued against his Will, to the *unreasonable* and *unjust Appointments* of Another —— The next Step to *Political Slavery*, where a *Constitution* is subjected without Consent *to weak or partial Laws*, and *iniquitous Magistrates*.

BUT the last Degree of Slavery, is, where the *Will* itself co-operates, with the Appointments of *Folly*, and Suggestions of *Guilt*. For where private Reason and Conscience are stifled by Lusts, the very Will is seduced to the Empire of Appetite, and the whole Man becomes the Subject and Servant of Sin —— Where the Populace are influenced to a voluntary Election of weak Legislators or vitiated Magistrates; *Consent*, which is *the Salt of Liberty*, is then itself *corrupted*, and no Salt may be found wherewith it can be seasoned; The People are Parties and Abettors to their own Thraldom, and no Powers upon Earth can, nor will Heaven interfere, to redeem them from so merited, so sure a Perdition.

REASON, Conscience, and Strength, were appointed unto Man, that by *Reason* he might *distinguish Right*, by *Conscience* be *controulled from Wrong*; and by *Strength assert* his Privileges, and *repel* or *punish* the Encroacher —— Law, Magistracy, and Power, were appointed to Society, that *Law* might *declare Right*, *Magistracy guard from Wrong*, and *Power assert* the Limits, or *repel* and *punish* the Invaders.

The End of the Creation of Man is answered by *good or virtuous Conduct*: *The End of the Creation of Society* is answered by *good or virtuous Government*.

THE Force of a *stronger Arm* may *oppose* the *good Conduct* of Man —— The Invasion of *greater Powers*

 may

may *oppose* the *good Government* of a People.——— But *Force* in either Case infers *no Guilt*; and the Will is still left Free, *to attempt once more for Liberty*.

THE *Will* of Man can be constrained by no outward Impulse, He must first be *guilty* before he can be *perverted*——The *Consent* of a People can be compelled by no outward Power. They must first be *corrupted* before they can be *influenced*.

Temptation in the *natural World* is *Influence* in the *Political World*. The *Surrender of free Will* is what constitutes a *sinful Man*——The *Surrender of free Consent* is what demonstrates a *wicked People*. No *Man* therefore can be *good* but so far as he is *free*—— No *People* can be *free* but so far as they are *virtuous*.

BUT, my Friends, this Principle of LIBERTY is not merely HUMAN, It is also DIVINE. In the *natural*, in the *Political*, in the *Moral* World, it is by LIBERTY that we *retain*, *apply*, or *enjoy* any *Possession*.

IT is therefore, alone, that we are accountable Creatures. It is for LIBERTY only that we can be brought to our Audit, before Man or before GOD; either here or hereafter.

WHATEVER is propertied, whatever is possessed, whatever Industry can earn, or Opulence purchase, is granted, fenced, guarded, and affirmed by LIBERTY.

WHATEVER is just, whatever is decent, whatever is humane, whatever is charitable, whatever is great, whatever is good, whatever is sacred; to the Breach of which eternal Punishments are threatened,

to

to the Performance of which eternal Happinesſ is ordained, take their Riſe, Temper, Quality and Merit from LIBERTY.

As the SOUL of Man was created in the IMAGE of GOD; it is from LIBERTY that this DIVINE SIMILITUDE is denominated, where *Man's Freedom* of Acting according to the Dictates of his own *finite Reaſon*, anſwers to GOD's FREEDOM of acting according to the Dictates of his own INFINITE WISDOM.

Now as All receive their Exiſtence and Appointments from GOD, He cannot poſſibly be ſuſceptible of Influence from Any, and therefore, is neceſſarily, infinitely, and eternally free. That is to ſay, He cannot in any one Inſtance, of his unbounded Operations, do otherwiſe, than act as Infinite Wiſdom ſhall dictate, and infinite Goodneſs direct. Throughout his Immenſity, he can ſurrender no one Article of his Attributes or Powers. He cannot be Fooliſh, He cannot be Evil, He cannot be Impotent. And this alone is PERFECT UNASSAILABLE FREEDOM.

HE, then, who would preſerve the DIVINITY of that IMAGE in which he is created; who would be truly GODLIKE, who would be GOOD, who would be HAPPY, muſt endeavour to be *Steady*, *Impregnable*, *Unaſſailable*. He muſt combat and conquer the Friends of *Influence* who are within him, that they may not be able to correſpond abroad, and betray him to this his *mighty Beſieger*. His *imperial Soul* muſt preſerve that Throne of Reaſon, to which it was, from Eternity, ordained by the ALMIGHTY; to keep under due Subjection and Miniſtration, thoſe Senſes, thoſe Affections, thoſe Appetites, that were appointed his natural Servants——not his Lords.

SHOULD these, the *Earth-born Giants* of *Sensuality* and *Appetite*, be able to scale that CELESTIAL SEAT OF FREEDOM wherein the DIVINITY of Man is scepter'd; what Asylum, what Resource? what Corner may be found, throughout the Universe, wherein the *degraded Monarch* may hide his shameful Head?

AND yet it is from these, his natural Vassals alone, the Domestics and Ministers of his own Household, that the World can produce any thing that is formidable to Man. From their Rebellion alone comes *human Guilt* and *human Misery*: On their Subjection alone is built *human Virtue* and *human Happiness*. While they are retained within the Sphere of their appointed Obedience, though their LORD should see the World in Chains, or in Flames around him, He would stand *free*, amidst Dungeons, Tyrants, and Slaves; and *safe*, amidst Terrors, Tortures, and Death.

THESE, my dear Brothers, are no sudden Flights, no Doctrines that ought to be new or strange unto Men. They are no other than the Unfoldings of those Truths that are within You, the Transcripts of the original Tables that are written in your own Bosoms.

THE DIVINE REVEALER of the Means of Salvation unto Man, who hath brought IMMORTALITY and FREEDOM to Light by his Gospel, assures you that the KINGDOM OF GOD, which is LIBERTY, is neither relative to any Time, nor assigned to any Place, that it is opened and established in the Soul alone, that it is the LAW OF REASON AND CONSCIENCE written by GOD upon your Hearts, and that this LAW alone is PERFECT FREEDOM.

EVEN

Even in old Times, the most illuminated of the Poets and Philosophers have had several Glimmerings of this the full Day of Liberty, which by the Sun of Righteousness is now shed upon Mankind.

Hear the Sentiments of an ancient *Roman* upon this Head.

The Man, resolv'd, and steady to his Trust,
Inflexible to Ill, and obstinately Just,
May the rude Rabble's Insolence despise,
Their senseless Clamours, and tumultuous Cries;
The Tyrant's Fierceness he beguiles,
And the stern Brow and the harsh Voice defies,
And with superior Greatness——smiles!

Not the rude Whirlwind, that deforms
Adria's black Gulph, and vexes it with Storms,
Can the firm Purpose of his Soul remove,
Not the red Arm of angry *Jove*,
That flings the Thunder from the Sky,
And gives it Rage to roar, and Strength to fly.

Should the whole Frame of Nature round him (break,
In Ruin and Confusion, hurl'd,
He, unconcern'd, would hear the mighty Crack,
Free, and secure, amid a tumbling World.

Human Freedom and human Existence are so intimately joined, that Existence becomes Misery, is worse than Loss and Annihilation, when Freedom its only Solace and Support is departed. *For what should it profit a Man were he to gain the whole World, if he loses that, by which any thing can be retained or enjoyed, if he loses his* Liberty, *his* Soul, *his* Self.

As

As far as we submit to any evil Influence, so far we permit ourselves to be deprived of our LIBERTY, the GREAT and DIVINE CONSTITUENT of our immortal Nature and immortal Happiness: So far we sink under the Tyranny of Sensuality and Sin, and grow alien and distant from the SOURCE of all Existence, from the GIVER of all Delight.

BUT so far as we retain, cherish, and strengthen this INFANT IMAGE of the DEITY within us; so far we arise above Corruption and Mortality, earthly Potentates and Powers; we kindle in our Speed and Force, as we draw nearer to the SPHERE of our DIVINE ACTIVITY; we approach to our GOD by our *approaching Similitude*, and one Flight higher makes all *inconceivable! inexpressible!*

IF any of your sophistical Fencers, your modern Champions for Slavery, should here attempt to distinguish between *personal* and *social* LIBERTY, should allow you to retain *personal Liberty*, which is the *Virtue of Yourselves*, but persuade you to part with *social Liberty* which is the *Virtue of your Country*: Remember, that I have already demonstrated, as clear as Light; that no Man can surrender his Country to *weak* or *vicious Rulers*, till he has first surrendered himself a Servant to *Sin*; that no Man can be *influenced*, till he is previously *corrupted*.

THE only Difference between the Surrender of *personal* and *social Liberty*, is, inasmuch as the *latter* is more extended and important, by so much more the Crime is expanded and encreas'd.

FOR as *social* or *political Liberty* is nothing else but the Combination and Assertion of *personal Liberty*, the Vindication of that great Privilege to a whole People, whereto every Individual continues to be intitled; whoever attempts to dispose, surrender, or betray any Branch, Portion, or Particle of this divine Possession,

is

is not only guilty of what that wicked Wretch should commit, who would sell his Soul under absolute Bondage to Lust, or make a voluntary Sacrifice of his own Reason, to the blind, precarious and arbitrary Will of Another; his Crimes are infinitely more numerous, his Guilt infinitely more extensive, and differs as far as a Man is out-number'd by Nations, or a single Life by all the Ages that shall roll down through Posterity.

It may lastly be objected, that since it is possible for a single Man, in the midst of Slaves and surrounding Tyrants, to retain this LIBERTY OF SOUL; to stand *uninfluenced*, *independent*, *unassailable*, FREE, in Spite of Shackles and Dungeons, of Tortures and of Death: Why may not any Man, and therefore every Man, support an equal Virtue? And then, of what Consequence would *national Slavery* be, to such FREE, *heroic* and *superior Individuals*?

I ANSWER, that beside this LIBERTY OF SOUL, which a depraved Will may surrender, but which no Force can take away; there is also a *Liberty of Body* and *of Property*, which, though *they* extend not beyond the Limits of the Grave, make the *Comforts* and *Conveniencies* of this State of Mortality. *These* are ever obnoxious to Power and to Policy; *here* Strength may effectually batter, and Cunning undermine; and if their Value is not equivalent to some little Contention for their Preservation while we hold them, or their Recovery when lost, I know nothing upon Earth worthy of a single Struggle, or even a Thought.

BUT, further; the *Liberty* of Property, and the *Liberty* of Person, are the very Out-works of the GREAT CITADEL the LIBERTY OF THE SOUL. There is an intimate Connection and Correspondence between them. If the Outworks are once taken, the

the Citadel is endangered, and will require an internal Strength and Watchfulness that is extraordinary, to defend itself from the close Attacks of perpetual Assailants.

WHO would chuse to have himself or his Brethren so tempted or exposed?

IF one Man should be strong enough to strip another of his Property, and, thereafter, to put his Body into actual Bondage; he wants but a Step further to the enslaving of his VERY SOUL, to make it gradually bend, become obsequious and subservient, and at length even conformable, to the Dictates of Lust, and the Appointments of Villainy.

WHEN the Devil desired to tempt the FREEMAN of the East, even JOB the favourite IMAGE of his blessed CREATOR; he first attached his Property, and next attached his Person, that by coming so near as to his Flesh and to his Bone, he might reach at the TREASURE OF ETERNAL ESTIMATION, the DIVINITY that held the Throne within. But here he happened for once to be mistaken in his Man, *Job* held fast his LIBERTY, he would not let it go, and the World and the Devil assailed him in vain.

F I N I S.

AN

EIGHTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

AN EIGHTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

My Countrymen,

I HAVE now demonstrated to you the Nature of LIBERTY; that it is of Divine Original; that it constitutes the Image of GOD in the Soul of Man; that, therefore, as the Liberty of GOD invariably *willeth*, agreeable to his infinite *Wisdom*

and *Goodness*; the Will of Man, who is his Image, can no further be free, than as it is directed by right Reason, and limited by good Conscience.

I HAVE further demonstrated to you, that this the LIBERTY of Man, is the only Source and Subsistence of all possible Virtue. That it is the sacred and celestial Trust for which alone we are accountable; and that temporally and eternally we must be wicked or *worthy*, miserable or *happy*, in proportion as we are *Free*.

I HAVE further demonstrated, that in this our State of Mortality, there are *two other Articles*, that of *Body* and that of *Property*, which being annexed to our *Existence* are also annexed to our LIBERTY; and though in Rank and Estimation they are infinitely inferior to that LIBERTY which is the LIFE, and as it were the DEITY of the Soul; that yet they constitute the Whole of what is valuable upon Earth, and that their Loss endangers the LIBERTY of the Soul itself, the only SEAT where Repose may be found throughout Eternity.

I HAVE further demonstrated, that, in our present State, Man is a Being compounded of Soul and Body, to whose joint Support and Welfare, Property is necessary. That, as he hath Reason to direct him in the Attainment of such Property, and Conscience to dissuade him from encroaching on the Property of Another, he also hath *Strength* appointed to his *Right* of holding that which is his own, and of repelling and punishing whoever is the Assailant.

I HAVE

I HAVE further demonstrated, that there are many Senses and Appetites annexed to the Bodily Composition of Man. That those Senses and Appetites are appointed to be the Ministers of his Soul; and in a State of natural Freedom must be subservient to Reason: But that in many Cases the Appetites have transgressed their Province, and by corrupting and enslaving the Soul to unreasonable Desires, have tempted some to encroach upon the Property of others.

I HAVE thereupon demonstrated, that the Attacks which some have made upon Liberty and Property, impelled others to confederate for the Preservation thereof; that this alone can be the Intention and End of all Society; and that, however the Form of this Connection may vary, no Community can be supposed to have united together, with a Prospect of Destruction, or even of Damage to the Individuals.

I HAVE therefore demonstrated, that, as all *social Liberty* is the Result of many Men united together for the Preservation of *natural Liberty* to *Each*; wherever those Divine Ends are prostituted or perverted, by unreasonable Laws or a wicked Administration; then, and not till then, the Links of that Society are *ipsa facto* dissolved, and the People restored to their Right, though they may want the Power, of renewing their Constitution, or re-electing their Magistrates.

AND

And now, my beſt beloved Countrymen, in order to illuſtrate the Benefits of Liberty, in order to recommend and inforce upon your Minds, this *Foundation* of all Advantages this *Source* of all Delight, this *Portion* of the Divinity that is ſhed upon Man, I will give you on one Side the Picture of a *Freeman*, I will give you on the other Side the Picture of a *Slave*.——Chooſe the Subſtance of that Character whoſe Reſemblance you like beſt.

That Man who is ſo happy as to be born and educated, where his natural Liberty is aſſured to him by the Conſtitution of his Country, imbibes the Bleſſings thereof from his earlieſt Infancy; his little Heart is enlivened by the chearfull Faces around him; and the firſt Ideas he conceives, are from the Actions of Freedom, and Expreſſions of Truth. As his Capacity begins to open, he receives no Impreſſions of Religion that are not illumined by Revelation, nor of Law that are not made ſacred by Reaſon; he perceives the juſtneſs of ſuch Sentiments by the Dawnings of his native Underſtanding, each Truth is duly reflected by the unprejudiced Mirror of his own Mind, and the Characters of Virtue, impreſſed by God upon his Heart, are retraced by Converſation, and rendered indelible by public Approbation and Authority.

Hence he is confident; he is open, he is chearful, he is generous, he is ſerene; he is not awed into a Hypocrite, he is not terrified into a Liar; his Actions are neither diſtracted by Doubts, nor abridged by

by Caution; he hath but one Way to walk, even the High Road of Honour; his temporal Succeſs and Happineſs go Hand in Hand with his Virtue; and that Virtue is dictated, is encouraged, is approved, is rewarded, by the Laws of his Country, by the Example of his Acquaintance, by the Deference of the People, and by the Magiſtrates of the Land.

As he encreaſes in Underſtanding to diſtinguiſh, in Ability to earn, and in Strength to defend his Property; he finds both the Rights of his Perſon, and the Appointments of that Property, already ſet forth by Law, and protected by Power; the Ordinances of his Country, the Inſtitutions of LIBERTY, like ſo many Guardian Angels hedge him round about; and all that is requiſite on his Part, is to conform to that Law, and to add his Arm to that Power, by which he is himſelf defended and ſecured.

The Conſciouſneſs of this Security, and the Aſſurance of this Protection, give him Encouragement for Induſtry, and Spirits to Application; he is thereby ſtrengthened in his Labours, and enlarged in his Underſtanding; he ſows his Land in Confidence, and he brings home his Harveſt with Songs and with Merriment; he rejoyces to tear up the Boſom of the Field which is his own; he cultivates and manures it for many Generations, inaſmuch as LIBERTY has appointed that the Deſcendants of his Loins ſhall reap the Product thereof.

THUS

THUS his Induſtry advances his Property into Abundance; he hath wherewithal to confer on the Sick and the Needy; and can ſpare a Portion to that loved Public by whom the Whole is aſſured. He hath no Damage to apprehend, no Danger to foreſee; his Thoughts are clear and undiſturbed; he hath Leiſure and Attention, to ſtudy the Improvement of Manufactures, and Refinement of Arts. He ſmiles at the Efforts of Malice or Knavery, and ſtands firm and undaunted before the Frowns of the Great; for he builds his Houſe on the *Rock of Law*, and it is covered by a *juſt and impartial Adminiſtration.*

This Freedom gives him Dignity, and this Dignity gives him Ambition; he exerts every Faculty, every Talent which Nature hath given him, to its utmoſt Extent; and is emulous of leaving ſome Memorial of his Attachment to that endearing Society, of which he himſelf is ſo cheriſhed a Member. Such is the true Son of EVER GLORIOUS LIBERTY, it guards him all about, it warms him at Heart, he feels its Beneficence, he rejoices in its Comforts; he can labour, he can watch, he can bleed to retain it,—he can die for its Sake,—but he cannot ſurvive it. On the other Hand.

THAT Wretch who is born in a *Society of Slaves*, where *public Reaſon is dethroned*, *Law appointed by Will*, and *Power actuated by Paſſion*, receives Fetters on his firſt infant Efforts for Freedom, that eat and corrode to the very Quick of all Virtue. To what end is his Inſtruction, to what purpoſe his Knowledge, except it were to ſharpen the Senſe of his Miſery, and to open

open his Eyes to the Horrors of his Condition? But his Tutors, alas, are of a different Caſt, the Truth of their own Minds is already damped or extinguiſhed; and this Son of Bondage can receive no poſſible Impreſſion, but from the Tongue of Ignorance, or Example of Guilt.

Hence the Characters of Virtue, which God hath traced upon his Soul, are contradicted by Converſe, controuled by Authority, and eraſed by Precedent. He ſees Falſhood, Servility, and Cruelty around him, and his Heart contracts and hardens by Habit and Conformity. He perceives that Power conſiſts in Rapine, in Violence, and Inſults, and he learns by Example to ſuffer and ſubmit, while his ſole Ambition is to rule with the Rod by which he is governed.

He looketh abroad, he obſerves that Neighbourhood is Danger, and Fellowſhip a Snare; he reflects that there is no Confidence between Man and Man, and that Each endeavours to ſubſiſt by preying on the Other. His Nature is ſhock'd, but he knows no Remedy, he firſt conforms, and then approves. Like his wretched Aſſociates he learns to flatter and betray, and to wear a Countenance that is ever at Variance with his Soul. His Blood is baked in Choler, engendring Treaſons and Tragedies, Deſigns of Darkneſs and Deeds of Deſperation.

It is thus, that in a State, where Will and Appetite rule, and Reason and Virtue are subjected, no Trust is found in Friendship, no Faith in Families; and *a Man's Enemies are those of his own Houshold.* He is compelled to Sigh where he would Laugh, to Leer where he would Groan; till he acquires a base, groveling, hypocritical, footlicking Spirit, entombed in a vile Body of deceiving Cringes, lying Professions, abhorring Obeisance, and nauseous Grimace.

At the same Time that he endeavours to invade the Possessions of Others, he hath no Assurance of his own Property, no Defence for his own Person. He tills the Ground in Listlessness, and sows it in Despair. He hath no Hope against Hunger, his present Morsel is his only Security for Subsistence, and his present Tenures barely wait till Authority shall seize. His sole Ease under Burdens is his Custom of bearing, and he hath no Comfort but in growing callous to the Sense of his Afflictions.

If, notwithstanding, there yet should remain to him any Feeling of Humanity, some latent Spark of Virtue not wholly smothered in his Breast; while he leads his Bride to a joyless Couch, he ponders whose Lust may soon invade his Marriage Bed, when he may be compelled to retire with a suffocating Reverence, and to yield up his struggling Wife to the Defiler of his Family, and the Butcher of his Honour. If Children are born unto him, the

the Voice of Mirth, or Sound of Music is not heard beneath his Roof, for who rejoyces *that a Man-slave is born into the World?* The Parents weep over the Birth of their miserable Infants, in the Prospect that their Sons are to be as Camels for Burden, and their Daughters yet subjected to viler Prostitutions.

But of all the Plagues of *Egyptian* Bondage, of all the Fetters of Vassalage, the most galling is that which binds and bridles the Freedom of Thought; where Spies are set upon Looks, where Walls repeat Whispers, and each inwardly trembles while he speaks to a Brother; then are Ears greedy to listen, yet fearful of Tidings; each Eye shews a gloomy and discontented Soul, beneath a constrained Gesture, and awkard Complaisance. Thoughts are eager for Expression while Lips tremble with Caution, where a Word may be caught e'er it falls to the Ground, half-Sounds be formed into arbitrary Significations, half-Gestures into Assaults, and half Sentences into Treason.

Thus fares it with a Nation, who surrender their Liberty, the Sacred Trust of divine and inestimable Value, which God, Nature, Reason, and confederating Society, have reposed in wicked and Self-betraying Hands. The Storm of arbitrary Power doth not fall of a sudden, the Night of total Depravity doth not bury them at once; the Encroachments are gradual, the Approaches are regular, till the Catastrophe becomes equally pernicious to all, to Usurpation as well as Vassalage, to the Enslaved

and the Enslavers; till the Tyrants who corrupted, and the base Wretches who were influenced, grow like *Pygmalion* and his *Subjects*, *Those* trembling at the Daggers and Darkness of each Night, *These* wakeful in Expectation of the Morning's Slaughter.

If you like not such a Situation, if you have a Horrour of such a State, be faithful, be fervent, to preserve to yourselves, to convey to your Posterity, those inestimable Rights and Privileges, those Liberties you retain.

Never arrogate to yourselves the Administration of Power, for Liberty never lodged Power in the Hands of the People, Theirs indeed is the Appointment and Disposition thereof, but where-ever they reclaimed it, their Perdition ensued.

But, on the other Hand, as Power is naturally encroaching and assuming, as it grows bulky by Nourishment, and strengthens by Age, till it forgets the kind Parents by whom it was begotten and nurtured, and turns Alien to the Purposes for which it was ordained; you should be extremely cautious and inquisitive into the Virtues of that Man, in whose Hands you deposite so fearful a Trust; that he may gratefully acknowledge, and invariably apply his Power, to the sole End for which it was ever possessed, either by God in Heaven, or *Legislators* upon Earth; to the

the Good of HIS Creatures, to the Advantage of *their* Constituents. But, above all, beware of committing the Sword of Authority, into the known Administration, and experienced Grasp, of any Plunderer of your least Property, or Possessor of your smallest Right.

THE Election of two Legislators is now at Hand, stand firm to your Liberties! acquit yourselves like Men! I say it and will ever say it, that to appoint your Representatives is your Privilege alone; that to elect their own Legislators belongs solely to the People; that this EVER GLORIOUS AND INDEFEASIBLE RIGHT, is the Life, the very Heart, and vital Heat of LIBERTY; that it is the ESSENCE of our free and inestimable Constitution; and that no Power, no Domination, no Authority upon Earth, hath the smallest Right, or Colour of Right to influence or interfere.

LET the Great enjoy their Riches, and the Titled their Honours; we are contented with our Poverty, and envy them not. Let Magistrates exert their Authority, we will pay them all Obedience; but let this be sufficient for them, let them be satisfied with their own Limits, let us say, *thus far shall ye pass and no further*; Let them not invade our Souls, nor cast Chains over the Efforts of a free-born Spirit. Preserve your Truth, my dear Friends, preserve your Truth from every Fetter; and if there is any among you, so poor, that his Integrity is his only Property, let him grow rich, and strong, and honoured in the Retention.

OF

Or what Consequence, of what Import is the Freedom of Elections, if Electors are influenced, if they are not free to choose? To what Purpose is this Constitution of incomparable LIBERTY, if the Individuals make no Use or Advantage thereof? is not the Ruin of my House, equal, whether it tumbles by a Tempest, or I pull it on my own Head? is not the Ruin rather aggravated, where I have nothing to reproach, but my own Folly or Wickedness for my own Perdition?

You have now, my honoured Brethren, but a short time to consider, that a *free Election* is the very *Spring*, and great *Principle* of our Constitution; that it is gloriously so, since all Authority subsists in the People alone, in whom alone it is resolvable, from whom alone it is derived. That, therefore, should you barter this *Pearl* of mighty Price, you choak the Course of LIBERTY even at the Fountain-Head; and every prostitute Voter puts to his Shoulder and his Hand, to sap the Foundation, to tear away the corner Stones, whereon the Freedom and Prosperity of this whole Nation is built.

SHALL any influenced, venal, and abject Elector, have the Impudence to repine at Laws, or murmur at Magistrates, whose Weakness, or Perversion he endeavoured to promote?

MAY you, my beloved and respected Countrymen, be shining Examples of a contrary Conduct, to all free States, to all future Electors! may the Wisdom and Impartiality, of your generous Voices,

be

be duly honoured in the Capacity, the Intrepidity, the Integrity, of thoſe diſtinguiſhed Candidates, on whom your Election ſhall light! May each of you ever, and invariably vote, as you would wiſh the Repreſentatives of ſuch glorious Conſtituents, to vote in the great and auguſt Council of this Nation! without Fear, without Prejudice, without Intereſt, without Animoſity, as Public Good alone ſhall prompt, and Truth ſhall dictate!———May you worthily ſerve yourſelves, and my Labours thereby will be amply rewarded.

F I N I S.

A

NINTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in Essex-street.
MDCCXLIX.

[Price Two-pence.]

A

A NINTH

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

MY BROTHERS,

IF there is nothing truly ſolid and comfortable in Virtue, if it will not yield you a Reſource in Poverty or Perſecution, when you are forſaken by Patronage or aſſailed by Power; I have long laboured, and written, and preached to You in vain.

If Virtue were the Fashion and Cast of the Times, if Men in the general were Lovers of Truth; it would be impossible that Candor should create Enemies, or Sincerity give Offence; and an upright humane benevolent Spirit, would walk beloved and applauded, through a World amicably formed to its own Likeness.

But as this neither is nor ever was the Case; as Wickedness can *climb* as well as *creep*; as it infests *the Valleys*, and also visits *high Places*; whoever opens his Mouth in Favour of Virtue, is presumed to declare his Aversion to Vice; whoever declares his Aversion to Vice, is presumed to express his Antipathy to the Wicked; and whoever expresses his Antipathy to the Wicked, is impleaded as a Defamer of Some or Other in high Station.

Neither are these the only Disadvantages under which the Man of unassailable Integrity must labour. He can gain no Riches by Over-reaching, nor Friends by Fawning. He cannot warp himself to Occasions; he cannot bend his upright Soul to humour his Patrons by a base Compliance, or to serve his Protectors by Iniquity; he cannot make unto himself *Mammon*, by any Manner of *Unrighteousness*. If Preferment should happen to lie in so very direct a Road, he accepts it with Gratitude, and he discharges his Trust with Faith and unwearied Application; but he quits all Preferment rather than shut his Mouth upon the Truth; he is prepared to resign his Post, if he cannot hold it with Honour.

Yet all this he does for the Love of Truth alone; for he expects not to find Protection when Persecution is begun, nor Hopes for any Asylum when once obnoxious

obnoxious and forsaken. He has experienced the Shallowness of common Friendship and Profession, and looks to be envied, and even hated when he dares to be singular.

This, my Friends, is the very Extremity of all Evils that can happen to the Virtuous. Even so, he can fall no lower than the Rock of his own Integrity; and God can call Friends to him from the Wilderness and the Desarts, and *command that those Stones may be made Bread for his Servants*. His deepest Distress is therefore not to be pitied; and the utmost Defeat, that Misfortunes can bring upon him, is a Triumph, in Comparison of the Exaltation of Guilt.

But how deplorable is the Situation of that self-abandoned Wretch, who, being tempted to deviate from Duty and Conscience, by the Allurement of Profit or prospect of Advancement; yet finds himself disappointed of the Benefits proposed, and in grasping at the Shadow of a transient Prosperity, catches substantial Misery and lasting Reproach? If he looks around him for Friendship, he meets Detestation and Scorn; if he looks to Heaven for Pity, he sees Disgust and Condemnation; and if he looks within himself, he is still more forlorn, and the Universe can afford him neither Comfort nor Support.——Though he should even be successful for a Time, yet this is the final and unavoidable Gulph, to which the Triumphs and Prosperity of the Guilty must arrive.

And now, my dear and worthy Friends, what Man is there among you who would choose such a Tomb of inward Defilement, though outwardly adorned with all the Escutcheons of Title and Gildings of Wealth? Who would not rather choose the utmost Burden of Calamity, while inwardly supported, cheared, and enlightened by Virtue?

Wherefore, to apply this short but very important Preachment; I entreat, I exhort you to take this Reflection to your Souls, that of all the Vices incident to the Depravity of Man, that of *Treachery*, or *the Deceiving a Trust*, is the basest, the vilest, the most criminal, and abhorred; and that, of all base, vile, criminal, and abhorred Treacheries, that of *deceiving the Trust of your Country* is the greatest.

I must further remark to you, that the Duty of every Trust still encreases with the Value; and that the purer, the richer, the weightier that Talent is, of which you once undertake the Custody and Preservation, the more it is incumbent on you to watch and stand Sentinel, lest Power should plunder, or Subtlety deceive.

But what kind of a Country, think ye, what kind of a Constitution is this, whose Trust is made so light of, by too Many among Us? even the freest, the wisest, the worthiest, the happiest, that ever was known in any Age, or established by any People.

And shall Men impudently pretend to make it an Article

Article of Honesty, a scruple, forsooth, of an over-tender Conscience, to steal a Neighbour's Purse, or to ravish his Daughter? and yet dare to avow a Rape on the National Constitution, to make Sale, Property, or Plunder, of that singular Prerogative, by which the Purses of a whole People can alone be secured?

When we read of distant and barbarous Regions, of Men-eaters and Men-sellers, we are apt to be struck with Horrour; without reflecting how far Custom and Example have reconciled Us to Tidings more near and in their Nature more shocking. Those Barbarians sell the Enemies they have taken in Battle; but politer *Europeans* too often make a Jest, of voteing themselves and their Posterity into Slavery.

I repeat it, and let me sound it again in your Ears, that there is not in Nature, any Sentiment of Horrour, any Aggravation of Guilt, that can be added to the Baseness and Treachery of an Irish Elector, who consciously and wilfully gives his Vote to one Candidate, while he thinks Another outweighs him in the Merit of a Hair.

Our Freedom of Elections is like the great Pulse of the Heart, from whence, Life, Health, Strength, and Energy, are dispensed throughout the Body, from whence the whole Constitution receives its Action and its Nourishment.

From the Freedom of your Voices proceed Legislators, from the Worth of Legislators proceeds the

the Wisdom of Laws, and from the Wisdom of Laws proceeds the Weal of Society.

You are the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End. From you alone issues this Fountain of Ordinances, which cannot but return in due Circulation, and must ultimately terminate in your Weal or your Woe. Insomuch, that there is not a single Permission of Guilt, Injury, Injustice, or Insult throughout the Nation, of Encroachment on Possession, or Usurpation of Right, for which Electors are not principally and finally answerable.

These are Truths of weighty moment, of very interesting Concern, and I am bold at all Times and in all Circumstances to declare them.

You have heard of many idle and impotent Imputations of factious Sentiments and Scurrilities, that I am said to have propagated; and thereupon you have heard of Threats denounced against me, I can suppose by no other than powerless Enemies, the Lovers of Iniquity, and Suppressers of Truth.

But, fear not for me, my gallant Countrymen, I walk clear of their Reach, and unassailable by their Malice; and I defy Printer or Vender, Acquaintance or Inmate, to produce an Action in my Life, or a Sentence in my Writings, that can be interpreted to intend the Disservice or Dishonour of my Country, or its Constitution, my King, or his Government: That can be interpreted to intend, even personal Injury, or particular Offence to any Man breathing; except he officiously directs that Arrow

to

to his own Breast, which I have ever pointed against Vice and Folly alone.

Yet if any Man, after this, shall think me an Aggressor, I am ready to make him all the Reparation that Justice can require, or what his Pleasure shall further exact at my Hands.

Though the Rules of Duty and good Conscience, which I have already laid down to you in my former Addresses, will equally serve as a Direction to all future Electors; you must remember, that on this especial Occasion, there is something very extraordinary and uncommon in your Case. The particular Constitution of your City is distempered, you complain of many Grievances and Maladies therein. You have many Possessions to apply for, many Rights to reclaim; and your Appeal naturally bends to the venerable Patronage of our National Representatives, who are the common Parents of all our Claims, and the Protectors of all our Tenures.

Now, though that honoured Convention may be duly versed and intimate with the several Mazes and Windings of our *general Constitution*; yet they may, without Impeachment, be in a great measure ignorant of the Nature and Disposition of your *particular Corporation*, of this *Machine* within a *Machine*, of this *Fœtus* or *Conception*, that lies within the Womb of its *beneficent Mother*.

Wherefore, the Attention that is more particularly expected from you at this Time, is to turn your Eyes to such experienced Candidates, as are

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conuſant of your Rights, and have been active in your Intereſts; who may ſet forth with Knowledge, explain without Confuſion, reclaim in the Light of apparent Equity, and vindicate in the Strength of impregnable Truth, all your Poſſeſſions and Properties, your Privileges and Rights.

If your two *Aldermen Candidates* have engaged to do this; if you are perſuaded that they will diveſt themſelves of thoſe Robes and thoſe Ornaments, of which their crafty Anceſtors have ſtripped your ſilly Forefathers, I know no ſingle Exception to the Perſon of *Either*. But he who wittingly takes up his Lodging over Night, with a Hoſt who had diſpoſſed him of a Penny of his Property, will be deſervedly chouſed of a Pound before the Morning.

I must further warn you, that all Perſons, in your Circumſtances, labour under a Diſadvantage peculiar to themſelves. When any one ſets up an unexpected Title, it is a Novelty, a Surprize, againſt Poſſeſſion and Preſcription; they cry out he is litigious, a Lover of Turbulence, and he is condemned by every Perſon who is ignorant of his Caſe.

Wherefore, when in the Vale of all Meekneſs, and Conformity to Government, you peaceſully demand a Reſtoration of your Privileges, and a Renewal of the depraved Conſtitution of your City. When you legally ſolicit the Re-eſtabliſhment of thoſe Tenures, to which, by ancient Charters and royal Grants, you are undeniably entitled. Your Adverſaries, who are are inveſted with your Intereſts

terests and Possessions, have, as it seems, no Matter for Vindication, or Reply. They therefore resort to the only Answer they can procure. They cry aloud, Ye are Rebels! ye are Factious! ye are Factious! Ye are the Stirrers of Strife within a happy Administration! and the Movers of Sedition against good Government!

But, against what Government do we move either our Suit or our Complaint? Against the Government of his sacred Majesty?——God forbid——No, my brave Countrymen, We have not so soon degenerated from the Spirit of our Ancestors, who compassed that great and ever glorious Revolution, whereon our present Prosperity and Freedom is established.

We have not so speedily repented of those generous Efforts, which the gallant Citizens of *Dublin* so signally exerted, in the latter End of the Reign of her Majesty *Queen Anne*, in Behalf of *the House of Hanover*, and of Religion and Liberty then endangered to these Nations.

We have not so suddently turned Apostates to our own Principles, to that Faith and Zeal which every Man of us evinced, in Declarations and Actions of distinguished Energy, on Occasion of the late audacious and detestable Rebellion.

We are not moved even in Thought against our serene Sovereign, or his gracious Administration.

We are loyal and firm, as ever, to our God, to our KING, to our *Country*, and our *Constitution*.

IT is by the LIBERTY of Spirit which we now shew, in the Reclaiming of our own Dues, and in the Assertion of our proper Privileges, that we are apt and evidently prepared to defend those Rights, that are still greatly dearer and more interesting unto Us; even the Rights of his sacred Majesty and of these his Free Dominions, on whom our proper Rights inclusively depend.

IT is not in Opposition to our Sovereign or his Administration; it is not against Either, but agreeable to Both; it is to no Other than to our King and his Government that we appeal for Redress; and under Him, to the revered Representatives of our Country, now happily convened and assembled in Parliament; that august Body, united for no other Purpose, but to establish what is firm, to strengthen what is weak, and to restore what is lapsed in our generous Constitution.

BUT yet, my dear, free, and respectable Brethren, I must lastly remind you, and beseech you to beware, that you hold yourselves firm in a just and sedate Medium, between a Temper of tame Slavery, and of wild Rioting and Licentiousness.

I exhort you, in a Contention for Election and Pre-eminence, when the Spirits of Opponents are apt to ferment, and the Passions of Party to grow sanguine

sanguine and outrageous, that you remember your Conflict is not of the Flesh, it is not to be fought with Violence or Clamour, but in the Stability of Truth, and Perseverance of Virtue.

Do not in the End dishonour me your faithful Servant, whose Promises in your Behalf you have hitherto kept inviolable, and who is engaged for the Peace and good Order of your Demeanour.

It is not by any Motions of Riot or Sedition, that you ever did, or, I trust, ever will reclaim your Privileges. Give no such Advantage, my worthy and true Brothers, to the Adversaries of Liberty, to the Miners and Supplanters of your Civic Estate, who are wakeful and on the Watch for such a Cause of Exception. Continue firm, yet dispassionate, continue serene though provoked. So shall you defeat the only Train that can be laid, to render you obnoxious; and you shall cast back the Reproach of Riot upon your Accusers.

The true Courage and Soul of Liberty does not consist, in a froward, repining, or turbulent Disposition; but in a Resolution as calm as it is deep, in a patient, determined, and adhering Spirit, erecting itself in Benevolence, and founded on the Conviction and Consciousness of right Reason. All the Elements may forsake their Nature, and the material World suffer Wreck, but such a Spirit

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can never change, nor sink under the Trust that is repoſed upon it. Like Gold of the fineſt Bullion, it may be attempted, it may be wrought a thouſand different Ways, it may be mangled with Steel and tortured with Fire, but in every Trial and Operation, through which it can be paſſed, it will obſtinately retain its Value, its Weight, and its Purity.

When I was lately requeſted, by Hundreds among you, to declare myſelf a Candidate for the depending Election; I had the Mortification of becoming very little in my own Eyes, by reflecting how unequal I was to ſuch an Honour, how altogether undeſerving of ſo immenſe a Truſt. When I was further urged thereto by repeated Sollicitations; I determined to ſurrender myſelf wholly to your Service, to the Stretch of my Ability, and to the laſt of my Life.

But, when I underſtood that a Number of your moſt eminent Merchants had publiſhed a Declaration in Favour of *Mr. Read*, I with Pleaſure reſigned my low Pretenſions to a Gentleman, who to the Advantages of being a Free Citizen and excelling Trader, adds an acknowledged Superiority in every other Merit.

All therefore that I retain of this Diſtinction which you offered me, is a Gratitude as deep as Thought, and as laſting as my Being; which ſhall

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at all Times be ready, and on all Occasions exerted, where your Commands shall direct, or your Interests shall call me.

Though new Candidates, my Countrymen, should daily be offered, though they should vary for ever, your Cause is still the same. The Point does not lye in your voting successfully, but virtuously. Though you may not be the *Foreseers* of the future Conduct of your Representatives, yet you cannot but be the *Feelers* of your own Duty and Impartiality. Should you happen to be mistaken in your Opinion of Candidates, it is an Error of Judgment, not of Heart. Members are not immortal, the former Lapse may be retrieved: But what Power under Heaven, can either restore or recompence, the inward Depravity of a base and prostitute People?

But, when you shall gloriously evince, and demonstrate to the World, that in this Article of prime Importance to yourselves and your Country, you tread superior to private Influence, and firm and unshaken, to all the Assaults of personal and sensual Impulse; you will give a singular Example of living Illumination, to all other Counties and Corporations in the Kingdom. You will give a public Testimony and Sanction to Virtue. You will render it fashionable, approved, and applauded. Your Children will be emulous of the good Works of their Fathers. You will deliver down the signal Precedent to many Generations; and when you shall have

have passed away, future Centuries who shall reap the Harvest of your Truth, in all the blessed Enjoyments of Liberty and Prosperity, will recognize the glorious Ancestors by whom the Seed was sown.

FINIS.

A TENTH LETTER

FROM

The FARMER,

TO THE

FREE and INDEPENDENT ELECTORS of the CITY of DUBLIN.

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MDCCXLIX.

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I could further, apparently, demonstrate, that it would be mutually for the Advantage of Those who govern and Those who are governed, of the Tempters and the Tempted, of the Seducers and the Seduced, that no Influence whatever should be admitted by Electors; but that All should Vote with Freedom, with Impartiality, with Virtue.

FROM whence do Treasons, Rebellions, Seditions, Contempt of Law, Opposition to Magistracy, and all the Distractions that can rend Society, arise? even from the Vices, Depravities, and Corruptions of the People.

IF these Things are not so, it would be curious to see a Treatise of the contrary System, (compiled perhaps by a Cork Surgeon, or some other of the many *Mountebanks*, who daily mix *Powder of Post* and *Poison* for our Political Constitution) wherein it should be clearly argued, and most ingeniously evinced, *that Slavery derives the Rancour and Extent of its Chain from the Popular Sense and Assertion of Liberty; that National Vices take their Origin from the Virtue of Individuals; and that the detestable Wretch, whose Integrity is Proof to all the Shocks of Power and Allurements of Wealth, is an Enemy to good Government, and a factious Pest to his Country.*

HAD we been the unhappy Members of an *arbitrary Jurisdiction*, where *Obedience* was *measured by Power*, and *Will established for Law*: To advance, or even confess a Sense of National or Natural Freedom, would be Treason to such Government, a direct Assault upon the State.

BUT

But, bleſſed be our God! and thoſe our generous Forefathers, whoſe Providence we will adore, and whoſe Inſtitutions we will hold faſt; Who have founded and cemented our incomparable Eſtabliſhment, in the Deepneſs of Council, and in the Effuſion of Blood; This our Eſtate is not of Obedience to *Lawleſs Power*, but *commiſſioned Authority*; it is not ſubjected to *private Will*, but directed by *public Reaſon*.

He therefore, among us, who builds his Allegiance, on the Foundation of *Liberty*, of *Integrity*, of *Virtue*; is alone the *Kindred Part* of ſuch *a glorious Connection*, the *true Member* of his Country, the *firm Abettor* of his King, whoſe Power is erected on thoſe very *Principles*: While he who would debauch, divert, or terrify, a ſingle Man from his *Freedom*, or the Dictates of his *Conſcience*, is ſo far an Underminer of our *thrice bleſſed Conſtitution*, an Alien to *his Country*, and a Traitor to *his Sovereign*.

If GEORGE the SECOND is to be ſupported by a baſe and corrupt People, by whom are the Tyrants of the Earth to be upheld?

If Kings, whoſe diſtinguiſhed and pre-eminent Throne is *pillar'd* by the *Liberties* and *Conſent* of their Subjects, ſhould yet attempt to ſap that *Foundation of Virtue*, whereon the *Pillars* of *Liberty* and *Conſent* are laid; What new *Props* ſhall be put to ſuſtain their Dominion, that can differ from the Supporters of thoſe abſolute Seigniories? Where Empire is at Strife with the Weal of the People, and Authority and Magiſtracy are the Woe of the Land.

When

When Miniſters would inſinuate to the Princes of ſuch a Conſtitution, that they have an Intereſt diſtinct from that of their Subjects; that therefore an Oppoſition is neceſſary to uphold Prerogative; and that Bribery will engage Abettors, and Corruption win Loyaliſts, to the Advancement of Power and Elevation of the Throne; It is by no Means the Intereſts of their royal and deluded Maſters, that ſuch perfidious Architects, intend to erect; it is to attain Dominion to their own peculiar Party; that by ſevering the Hearts of beloved Monarchs from their Subjects, and transferring the royal Confidence to their own Cabal, in wielding the Scepter of their Princes, they might alſo rule the People; for it hath ever been the *Maxim* of the *Devil* and his *Machiavels*, *to govern by Diviſion*, and *derive Power to themſelves from the Weakneſs of others*. But a free and loyal Nation would counterwork ſuch pernicious Meaſures, as well in Love to their Sovereign, as in Providence to their ſelves.

When I adviſe you to ſuch, or ſuch Repreſentatives, I direct you to no Man of any Faction whatever, *Conſtitutional* and *Anticonſtitutional*, is your *Mark*; he is not to be of *Paul* or *Cephas*, of this *Party* or of that, but of the Proteſtant Church of Christ and the royal Houſe of Hanover; ſuch, as no Oppoſition ſhall ſtagger, no Influence divert, from the joint Intereſts of our Constitution, our Country, and our King.

Consider, my dear Friends, that you are not a *hidden People*, you are neither placed in a *dark Lanthorn*, nor *put under a Buſhel*. You are the *Metropolis* of a great Nation, a Light ſet upon our higheſt Hill, to illuſtrate your whole Country by the bright Shining of your Example. You are the Source of Vice or Virtue, of Servility or Freedom, to all the other

other Inferior and remote Corporations. You cannot but be diſtinguiſhed, for *Infamy*, or for *Honour*. You, then, who are for our *Conſtitution*; for our *Country*, for our KING, rank in with your *Loyaliſts*, adhere to your *Patriots!* So ſhall that *Country* repoſe in Peace upon your Boſom, the KING of our *Conſtitution* ſhall know his *Confidence* in time of Need, and his Deſcendants ſhall cleave to the Intereſt of your Poſterity.

So may I proſper here, and be bleſſed hereafter, as I am honeſt, and true, and confident, in averring, that our Religion and our Liberties, our Conſtitution, and the Houſe of our ROYAL AND GRACIOUS MASTER, can no way be ſecured, can no way be preſerved, but by the *Public Virtue*, and *public Spirit of the People*.

IT is a Spirit that I truſt will ever riſe ſuperior, to the Overbearings of Influence, and Diſcountenance of the Great: As I truſt it will alſo roll with Freedom and with Order, within its natural Channels of Reaſon and of Truth.

WHATEVER our Adverſaries may have impudently affirmed, of the univerſal Depravity of a neighbouring Nation; when, in order to recommend *Wickedneſs* and *Corruption* to your *Favour*, they tell you that *Patriotiſm* is *Hypocriſy*, and *public Spirit* a *Farce*: Even *London*, the Metropolis of the Country from whence we come, is pregnant with many ſhining and recent Examples, to Us her beloved Deſcendants, and her Siſter City of *Dublin*.

LONDON is not barely jealous of her own Rights and proper Privileges; She is jealous even

of

of the Honour of any Man who claims her Trust.

One of her *Aldermen*, Sir G——— C——— the very *Alderman* next the Chair, was suspected of receiving a Bribe, to give his Vote in Parliament, not wholly agreeable to the Interests of his Country. What ensued? Though by the usual and regular Rotation, it was his turn to be advanced to the Dignity of Lord Mayor; not all the Intercession and Authority of the Great, the Solicitation of Friendship, and Influence of Office, could procure him that Honour to which his Innocence had entitled him. He stood stignatized with the Imputation of a vile and corrupt Action; and the Loyal, the Firm, the virtuous Citizens of *London* annually opposed and rejected his Suit with Disdain; and he remains to this Day an Instance of their Worth, and their Resentment.

Let me add to the Distinction and Virtue of that Free People, that they sollicited and in a Manner compelled into Parliament, that unblemished and eminent Patriot, Sir John Barnard, at a time that he industriously declined the Honour they offered him, and by a Letter to their Chairman, read in publick Assembly, apologized for his Incapacity of discharging so great a Trust, on Account of his Infirmities and want of Health.

Such Honour and Estimation do that great and gallant People appoint to the Claims of Service, and even the Silence of Merit; insomuch that it is observable that the Representatives of that trading City, generally stand forth distinguished in the Parliamentary Rank, of the most loyal Patriots, and the most able Speakers.

I shall

I SHALL mention one Instance more, that may be applicable to your present Case, an Instance, which the *British Annals* will be careful to convey to your Posterity. It is taken from the late Conduct of the independent Electors of *Westminster*; and I have my Information from some Gentlemen with whom I was intimate in *London*, and who were the leading Spirits on that memorable Occasion.

WESTMINSTER, for many Years, had been called the *Ministerial Borough*. It was looked upon as a *Votary*, a very *Property* to *Influence*. The Candidates were generally appointed without Trouble, or Expence of Festivals; and were frequently elected without the Shew of Opposition.

THE Inhabitants had long been the Acquaintance of *Courtiers*; their City was the Residence and Home of *Dependents*, of *patient Waiters* for Employment, and *humble Suitors* for Place: Among whom are many Wretches, who would be the First to betray their Patrons, and the last to shed a single Drop of Blood, in Defence of the ROYAL SOVEREIGN by whom their Life is sustained.

ON this remarkable Election, Lord ———, and Sir *Charles Wager*, the two late Members, were again appointed Candidates; and no Obstruction was expected, no Opposition appeared.

LORD ———, to say the Truth, was a Man somewhat suspected, of bending to each Turn, and

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veering with Occasions to make him for or against Party, or Country, or King, it was sufficient to shew him the Banner where his Interest was ranged. Sir *Charles* was a Man of well-merited Estimation, who was an honest-hearted *Briton*, and a gallant Sea-Officer, had done Honour to his ROYAL COMMISSIONER, and true Service to his COUNTRY. But, at this Period of Time, he was so far in the Decline of Life, and Capacity, that he wanted rather a *Couch for Slumber*, than the *watchful Seat in Parliament*; a *Nurse-keeping* for himself, and not the *Guardianship* of a Nation.

SOME few Days before that of Election, a small Company of active and independent Men assembled, but without any Prospect, as it was then imagined, of making the least Opposition. When One, more sanguine than the Rest, proposed to draw up an Advertisement to be inserted in the public Papers, requesting a Meeting of the free Electors, in order to consider of two proper Candidates to represent them in Parliament.

THIS was accordingly done; and at the appointed Meeting, Curiosity drew together about fourscore Persons. *Charles Edwin*, Esq; a Gentleman of a large Fortune in *Wales*, dropt in by mere Accident, and, being a free Inhabitant of *Westminster*, and a Person of Consequence, the Company joined to pay him the Compliment of the Chair.

ADMIRAL *Vernon*, at that time in the *West Indies*, was then proposed, and unanimously admitted a Candidate; and after some time a further Motion

was

was made, and the Company agreed in requesting Mr. *Edwin* to be their second Candidate; universally engaging that each Man then present should exert his utmost Interest to promote his Election. After some real Reluctance on the Part of Mr. *Edwin*, he was at length prevailed on to accept the Honour they offered him; and Matters being thus fixed, they parted for the Purpose.

On the first Day of Election, in casting up of the Books, the Ministerial Members were found to be seven hundred a head; and this confirmed the Public in their former Opinion, of the Absurdity and Weakness of an Attempt at Opposition.

But the few active Spirits, who had engaged in this Enterprize, were not to be lightly or suddenly dismayed; They were Strangers to Rest at this important Juncture; They spread themselves throughout the City and Liberties of *Westminster*; They displayed their white Flag, for *Vernon*, *Edwin* and Liberty! and many Freemen came together, and ranged under that Banner.

It should here be observed, that these two Candidates were known to be old and *staunch Whigs*, whose Families had been active in the *glorious Revolution*, and were at all times distinguished for their Firmness and Loyalty to the royal *House of Hanover*, and to the *present happy Establishment*.

THIS Election began on *Monday*, and notwithstanding that Days Disparity, by the *Thursday* following the Independents were drawing near to an Equality upon the Poll-Books. The Dependents were greatly alarmed at this; they found that they had already spent their best Fire; they had Intelligence that the Numbers and Powers of their Opponents daily encreased; a Council was called hereon; they determined at all Adventures to secure their Majority; this was agreed to be done in the *sure old Way*; the High-Bayliff had a Sign appointed to him for *closing the Books*; to this he objected his personal Danger, and that such an illegal and arbitrary Step might irritate the People; to quiet the Fears of the High-Bayliff, three Justices of the Peace and the Army were to be introduced, and Affairs being thus premeditated and settled, on *Friday* the Concerters with all their Instruments gave due Attendance.

As the Place of Election was at the front Steps of *Covent-garden* Church, the Guards were conveyed into the Church-yard the back Way from *Bedford-street*, with all possible Privacy.

AT the appointed Hour on *Friday*, much Time was purposely wasted in the Parade of Business, and a few Persons indifferently polled on both Sides, Till the Dependents took the Alarm, on the Appearance of the white Flag at the Head of upward of two hundred independent Voters marching up in Order through the loud Huzzas of the People.

THEY

THEY instantly seized the Occasion; a Riot! a Riot! they cried out, shut the Books! immediately the Books were shut; all was Amazement, all Confusion; and the Dependents retired to the Vestry.

IN some time after the trembling High Bayliff came forth, and with Hesitation declared Lord ——— and Sir *Charles Wager* duely elected. Upon this the Guards turned out in their Defence; the Populace were exasperated, and threatened an Assault: But then it was, that those VERY SPIRITS, whose Virtue had informed, and whose Action had animated this People, to *the Assertion of their prime Privilege*, the *Essence of all their Liberties*, the *Fountain of all their Rights*, even the *great and happy Freedom of an independent Election*; those VERY SPIRITS, I say, then knew their *due Limits*, *the Line of Law and good Government*, which VIRTUE and LIBERTY will never attempt to pass; They flew among the enraged Citizens, they commanded, they entreated; their Power carried Peace, and their Oratory Persuasion; the high wrought Passions of the Multitude subsided before them, and each retired patient, though murmuring, to his peaceful Home.

THIS remarkable Transaction, and Attempt on the Constitution, at once fired and collected all the Patriots of Fortune and Consequence throughout the Kingdom.

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A Petition thereon was speedily preferred to the House of Commons, signed with the Names of upward of eight thousand free Electors. After a full Hearing the Election was declared by Parliament to be void, the high Bayliff was sent to Newgate; and the three famous Justices were brought on their Knees to the Bar of that Honourable House, where they received a severe Reprimand for their high and heinous Offence. A new Writ was issued for a fresh Election, Lord *Percival*, now Earl of *Egmont*, was joined with Mr. *Edwin*, in the Room of Admiral *Vernon* who had been chosen for *Ipswich*, and they were accordingly elected without Opposition.

If *Fables* often carry their Moral along with them: Can *Facts*, so nearly relative, so eminent, and interesting, require any further Inference, or Application to the Point?

Though You judiciously decline to make any Parade, by Displaying the *Standard* or *white Flag* of your LIBERTIES; the *great* and *indefeasible Patent thereof* is written in the Heart of every FREE CITIZEN, which he will not suffer to be blotted by the Baseness of Influence, or erased by the encroaching Hand of Power.

On your Left stands the *Colossus* of *Aldermanic* Authority, bestriding your Trade, and trampling on your Possessions; his Stature conceals a Host of *Jobbs*, *Briberies*, *Corruptions*; while *Poverty*, *Slavery* and *Misery*, lye skulking in the Rear.

On

On your right Hand, ſtands Liberty, in Appearance unportioned and rudely apparelled, yet of heavenly Origin, and of Features Divine! She is ſupported on each Side by *Virtue* and *Reaſon*, *Honour* and *Affluence* come cloſe behind, her Train is compoſed of the buſy *Crafts*, ingenious *Arts*, and poliſhed *Sciences*; *Candour*, *Humanity* and *Chearfulneſs*, ſmile throughout the acquainted Ranks; and Happiness cloſes the accompliſhed Rear.

Who can heſitate a Moment on which Side to arrange?

FINIS.